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GEORGE McGOVERN
SOUTH DAKOTA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Dear Friend,

When I announced my candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination in January, I mailed a letter to thousands of people asking for a contribution to the campaign.

The response has exceeded our best hope. It is probably the most successful fund-raising effort of its kind in American history. And it is due to people like yourself who believe that a healthy political system depends in large part on a healthy system of financing campaigns.

When one receives a farm housewife's egg money of $2 or a contribution of $5 from a retired couple just barely getting by on Social Security, it gives one new faith and confidence in the democratic process.

These small contributions have now reached a total of more than $500,000. A good part of this has come from people who agreed to make a *monthly* contribution of $10 or more.

This sacrifice, this commitment from people like yourself in all parts of the country, has made it possible for me to travel to over half of the states in the union — some of them many times — and to "talk sense to the people," as Adlai Stevenson so eloquently urged.

And they are listening. While many people are still undecided about whom they will support for President, they are concerned about the direction our country has been taking, and they want to set it right. There is no doubt in my mind that if we can continue to present the issues which face the country at this crucial moment in our history, they will respond wisely and generously.

Now the crucial tests of the campaign are approaching — in New Hampshire, Florida, Wisconsin, and other states with early primaries.

The outcome of these primaries will be determined not by Gallup polls but by election polls, after the voters have had a chance to compare their first-hand impressions of the candidates and their views.

But quite frankly, the outcome also depends on you. Your support and that of others like you is absolutely essential to our success.

The money raised so far, combined with the selfless dedication of a great many enthusiastic volunteers, has permitted the establishment of the best grass roots organization of any candidate in such states as New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Nebraska.

But now more campaign funds are needed for the all-out primary campaigning in the early part of next year.

Success in these early primaries, which is now within striking distance, is the key to the rest of the campaign. A few unexpected victories will change the entire complexion of the campaign, and generate a great deal of additional support from people who believe the time has come to genuinely re-order our national priorities.

Therefore, support right now — when it is needed the most and will count the most — offers a significant opportunity to influence our national political life by those who share my views on the need to disengage completely from Southeast Asia; to stop squandering our tax dollars on unneeded bombers and aircraft carriers and start diverting them to the crying needs in our cities, towns, and countryside; to achieve full employment; to make much faster progress in civil rights, women's rights, and civil liberties; and to cope with our other basic needs.

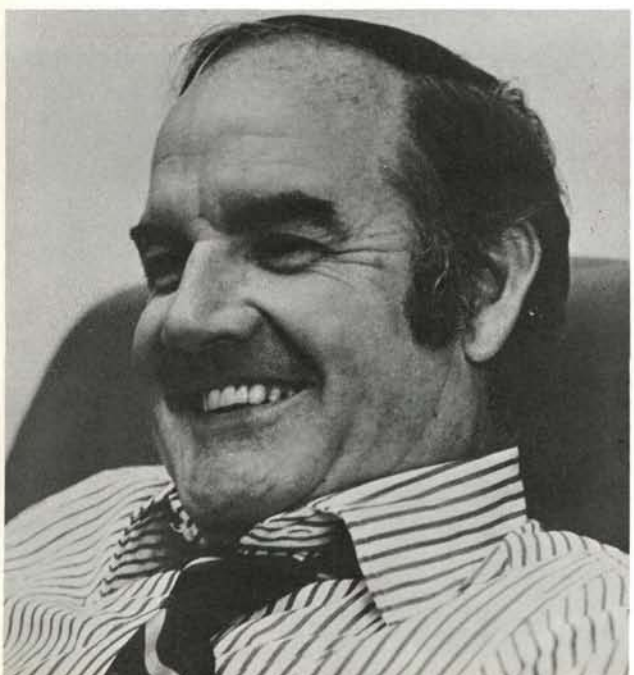
We hope you do share these views and that you will join those who are working with us to get our government back on the track.

If the forces of sanity and decency in this country will unite politically — and there are encouraging signs that this is beginning to happen — there is almost no limit to what we can accomplish together.

Won't you join us now, when your support can make a decisive difference?

Sincerely yours,

George McGovern



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Mail To: McGovern for President Committee
410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003

☐ I support Senator McGovern in his efforts to lead our country along the path of peace, reconciliation and rededication. Enclosed is my contribution of $_____

☐ Miss
☐ Mrs.
☐ Mr.

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ Please enroll me in the McGovern for President Club made up of supporters pledged to contribute $10 or more a month until the convention, and keep me closely informed on the progress of the campaign.

Please Make Checks Payable to McGovern for President Committee.

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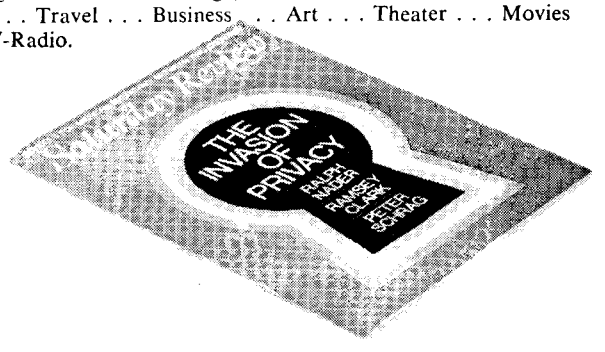

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WANTED–9 MILLION AMERICAN FAMILIES

Who Will Be Good Samaritans For 9 Million Bengali Refugees

Dear Friend:

One of the first Bible Stories we tell our children is the story of the good samaritan who stops to care for a wounded robbery victim lying beside the road after others had hurried on past.

It is a story that has a deep meaning to most Americans whether the person in need lying beside the road is an earthquake victim in Chile or a starving child in Biafra. We have always been quick to be good samaritans to others less fortunate than ourselves. We have rushed to help not just to the other side of the road, but to the other side of the world.

Now our traditionally generous impulses are meeting the supreme test. Because what is happening on the other side of the world is such a vast catastrophe — so many millions are in anguish — that there is a danger we will give a hopeless shrug and pass them by.

Fleeing from the horrors of one of the bloodiest civil conflicts of this century, their homes and barns burned, their nearest of kin shot down, nine million Bengali refugees have poured out of Pakistan into India.

Old people, children, mothers with babes in arms, have walked barefoot as far as three hundred miles to the border in the blistering sun without enough food or water, so that when they reached safety in India there was no place for them to stay but in the fields.

When the monsoon rains came they hoveled in drain pipes, beneath mats, under canvas or pathetically inadequate umbrellas.

Swooning from cholera and hunger, they sometimes had to stand up all night with water up to their knees because there was no dry place to lie down.

Hospitals made for 200 patients have been swamped with 800, 1200 and 1500, lying beside the beds, in the corridors, outside the yard in row after row.

The government of India, already hard pressed with its own economic problems, is spending over 3 million dollars a day in a valiant effort to care for the refugees. Obviously, it is not enough. It is questionable how long India can provide even this aid without collapsing.

Although national governments and relief organizations are making important contributions for the relief of this mass sea of human suffering, to supplement this effort it is necessary to seek private help.

The East Pakistan Emergency Refugee Fund has been organized to appeal to American families to help in this hour of unprecedented need.

We do not ask you to undertake the hopeless task of saving nine million people from starvation and disease. This is a staggering problem even to comprehend.

All we ask is that you, one American family, undertake and save one Bengali refugee by your contribution.

You can do this by contributing only 33¢ a day for the next six months. This amounts to $10 per month. We do not underestimate the sacrifice this will mean for many peopl

But your commitment to give $10 a month for the next months can pick up one Bengali child, give him food a cholera vaccine to carry him to high ground and survival.

It is expected that within the next 6 months a peaceful so tion will be reached and allow the refugees to return safety to their homeland.

You can multiply your contribution several times over calling at least 5 of your close friends. Ask them to make same commitment to save one child, and they should in t call 5 of their friends.

You may also want to ask your church, or club or lc civic organization if they cannot also h as a group.

If we can get nine million American fa ilies — only 4% of the population — to p vide minimum care for just one Bengali bal or child, or mother, or father, it will be t greatest rescue operation in human histor

Your dollars will be channelled throu UNICEF, CARE, IRC and other authoriz organizations to provide emergency relief.

Please mail the coupon below with yo check directly to the bank by using the Pc Office box. Save your cancelled check as a record of your tax-deductible contribution.

Too often in recent years we have presented an image of America as the richest and most powerful nation in the world.

Now, as never before, here is a desper need for America to show itself as the m compassionate and generous of the world's nations as well.

Chester Bowles, former Ambassador to India
Robert Drinan, Congressman from Massachusetts
Shrikumar Poddar, President, India Foundation

Homer Jack, World Conference of Religion for Peace
William Plymat, Chairman, Preferred Risk Insurance Compa

EAST PAKISTAN EMERGENCY REFUGEE FUND 70
P. O. Box 1776, Washington, D. C. 20013

I support your efforts to help Bengali refugees.
☐ I will contribute $_____ a month for the next 6 months
☐ I prefer to contribute $_____ at one time.

☐ Miss
☐ Mrs.
☐ Mr.

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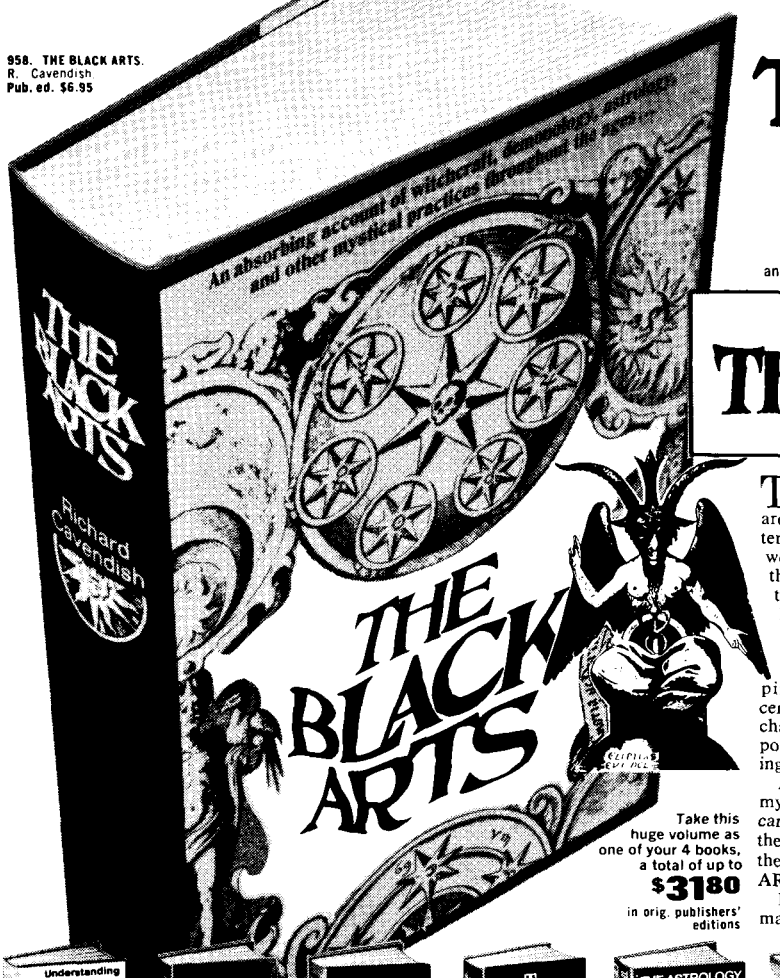
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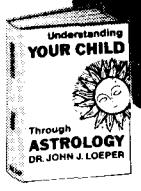

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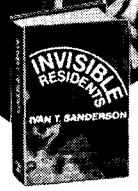

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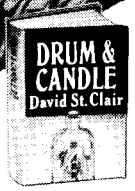

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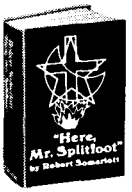

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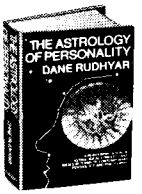

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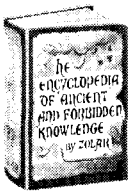

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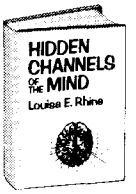

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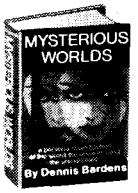

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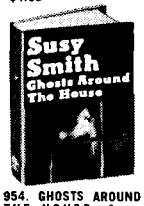

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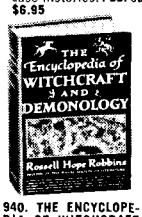

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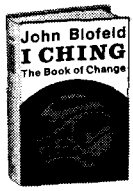

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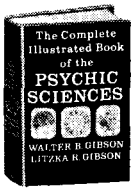

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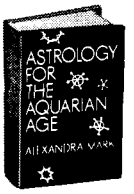

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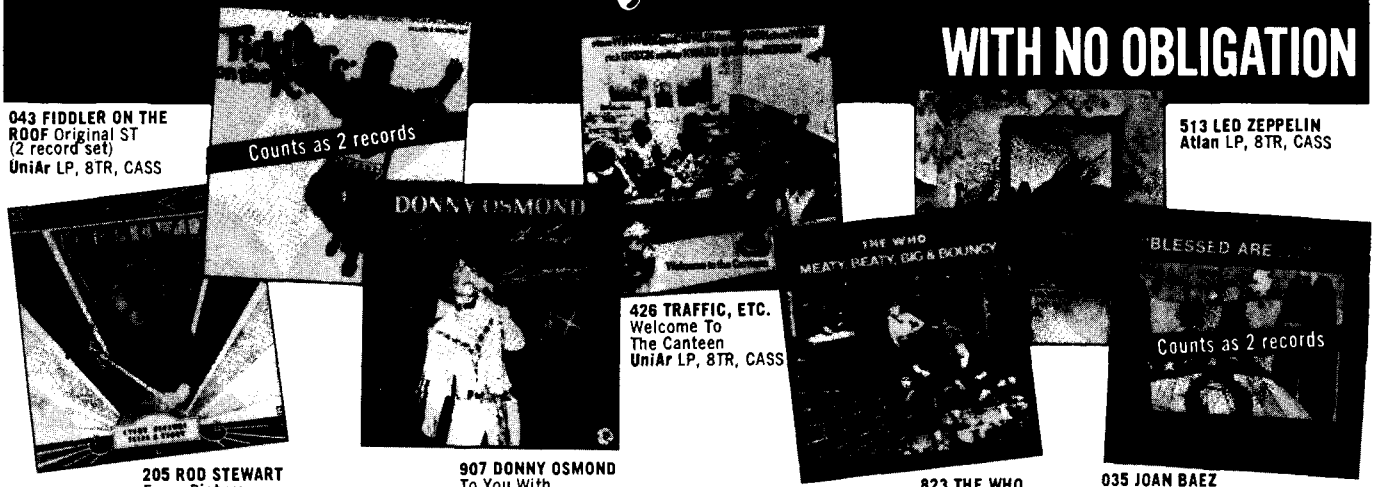


043 FIDDLER ON THE ROOF Original ST (2 record set)
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

205 ROD STEWART
Every Picture Tells A Story
Mercu LP, 8TR, CASS

907 DONNY OSMOND
To You With Love, Donny
MGM LP, 8TR, CASS

426 TRAFFIC, ETC.
Welcome To The Canteen
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

823 THE WHO
Meaty, Beaty, Big & Bouncy
Decca LP, 8TR, CASS

513 LED ZEPPELIN
Atlan LP, 8TR, CASS

035 JOAN BAEZ
Blessed Are...
(2 record set)
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS

777 GODSPELL
Original Cast
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS

354 101 STRINGS
Webb & Bacharach's Million Sellers
Alshi LP

708 HANDEL
Water Music
Yorks LP, 8TR, CASS

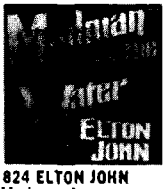
Compare and see!

825 NEIL DIAMOND
Stones
Uni LP, 8TR, CASS

660 MARVIN GAYE
What's Going On
Tamla LP, 8TR, CASS

423 FERRANTE & TEICHER Fiddler On The Roof
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

763 5TH DIMENSION
Love's Lines Angles & Rhymes
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS



824 ELTON JOHN
Madman Across The Water
Uni LP, 8TR, CASS

700 TCHAIKOVSKY
1812 Overture
Yorks LP, 8TR, CASS

100 THREE DOG NIGHT
Golden Bisquits
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS

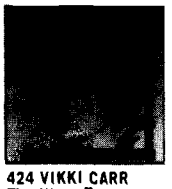
275 CANNED HEAT
Live At Topanga Corral
Wand LP, 8TR, CASS

509 ROLLING STONES
Sticky Fingers
RolSt LP, 8TR, CASS

374 MARY LOU WILLIAMS
From The Heart
Chiar LP, 8TR, CASS

600 OCEAN
Put Your Hand In The Hand
KamSu LP, 8TR, CASS

380 ABBIE HOFFMAN
Wake Up America!
BigTo LP, 8TR, CASS



424 VIKKI CARR
The Ways To Love A Man
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

373 QUINTESSENTIAL EARL HINES
Chiar LP, 8TR, CASS

405 BOBBY GOLDSBORO
Watching Scotty Grow
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

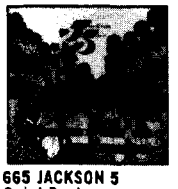
760 PARTRIDGE FAMILY
Up To Date
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS

827 CHER
Kapp LP, 8TR, CASS

355 101 STRINGS
Beatles' Million Sellers
Alshi LP

614 SHA NA NA
KamSu LP, 8TR, CASS

773 LAWRENCE OF ARABIA Original Soundtrack
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS



665 JACKSON 5
Goin' Back To Indiana
Motow LP, 8TR, CASS

826 SONNY & CHER
Live
Kapp LP, 8TR, CASS

420 IKE & TINA TURNER Nuff Said
UniAr LP, 8TR, CASS

903 THE DONNY OSMOND ALBUM
MGM LP, 8TR, CASS

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	Capitol Stereo Tape Club (as adv. in Esquire Aug. 1971)	Columbia Tape Club (as adv. in TV Guide Aug. 7, 1971)	Capitol Record Club (as adv. in Playboy Oct. 1971)	Columbia Record Club (as adv. in Redbook Aug. 1971)	Citadel Record Club (as adv. in Redbook Nov. '71)	RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA
CAN YOU CHOOSE FROM ALL LABELS? LP'S OR TAPES INCLUDING CARTRIDGE AND CASSETTE TAPES?	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	**YES!** Choose any LP or tape on any label! No exceptions! Over 300 different manufacturers including Capitol, Columbia, RCA, Angel, London, etc.
MUST YOU BUY A "MINIMUM" NUMBER OF RECORDS OR TAPES? HOW MANY?	12	6	12	10	12	**NONE!** No obligations! No yearly quota! Take as many, as few, or nothing at all if you so decide!
HOW MUCH MUST YOU SPEND TO FULFILL YOUR LEGAL OBLIGATION?	$83.76 to $95.76	$41.88 to $47.88	$59.76 to $83.76	$49.80 to $59.80	$46.68 to $64.68	**ZERO DOLLARS** You don't have to spend a penny—because you're not "legally obligated" to buy even a single record or tape?
CAN YOU BUY ANY RECORD OR TAPE YOU WANT AT A DISCOUNT?	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	**ALWAYS!** Your discount up to 79% OFF. Guaranteed never less than a third! No exceptions!
DO YOU EVER RECEIVE UNORDERED RECORDS OR TAPES?	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	**NEVER!** There are no cards which you must return. Only the records and tapes you want are sent—and only when you ask us to send them.
HOW LONG MUST YOU WAIT FOR SELECTIONS TO ARRIVE?	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	**NO LONG WAITS!** Your order processed same day received. No shipping on cycle.

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ANDY WILLIAMS—You've Got A Friend	Colum	5.98	**2.04**
BURT BACHARACH	A&M	5.98	**2.04**
JEFFERSON AIRPLANE—Bark	Grunt	5.98	**2.04**
BARBRA JOAN STREISAND	Colum	5.98	**2.04**
MOODY BLUES—Every Good Boy Deserves Favour	Thres	5.98	**2.04**
THE DOORS—L.A. Woman	Elekt	5.98	**2.04**
KRIS KRISTOFFERSON—Silver Tongued Devil & I	Monum	4.98	**1.69**
PAUL McCARTNEY—Ram	Apple	5.98	**2.04**
CAROLE KING—Tapestry	Ode	5.98	**2.04**
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118 THREE DOG NIGHT
Harmony
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS

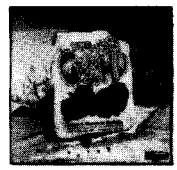
117 JAMES GANG
Live In Concert
ABC LP, 8TR, CASS

353 101 STRINGS
Love Story
Alshi LP

123 STEPPENWOLF
For Ladies Only
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS

270 DIONNE WARWICKE
Greatest Movie Hits
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

764 MOUNTAIN
Nantucket Sleighride
Windf LP



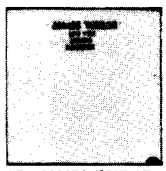
264 GUESS WHO
Born In Canada
Wand LP, 8TR, CASS

060 JESUS CHRIST SUPERSTAR
(2 record set)
Decca LP, 8TR, CASS

774 5TH DIMENSION
Reflections
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS

770 THE PARTRIDGE FAMILY SOUND MAGAZINE
Bell LP, 8TR, CASS

119 GRASS ROOTS
Their 16
Greatest Hits
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS



370 JAMES TAYLOR &
The Flying Machine
Eupho LP

263 B. J. THOMAS
Greatest Hits Vol. 1
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

817 THE WHO
Who's Next
Decca LP, 8TR, CASS

273 B. J. THOMAS
Raindrops Keep Fallin'
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

908 ERIC BURDON & JIMMY WITHERSPOON Guilty
MGM LP, 8TR, CASS

308 JOAN BAEZ
Joan Baez 5
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS

707 RCOA STEREO SYSTEMS TEST RECORD
Yorks LP

267 DIONNE WARWICKE
I'll Never Fall
In Love Again
Scept LP, 8TR, CASS

705 CHOPIN
Polonaises
Yorks LP, 8TR, CASS

905 2001:
A Space Odyssey
MGM LP, 8TR, CASS

900 OSMONDS
Homemade
MGM LP, 8TR, CASS

704 BEETHOVEN
Piano Sonatas
Yorks LP, 8TR, CASS

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AT LAST A RECORD AND TAPE CLUB WITH NO "OBLIGATIONS"—ONLY BENEFITS!

Ordinary record and tape clubs make you choose from a few labels—usually their own! They make you buy up to 12 records or tapes a year—usually at list price—to fulfill your obligation. And if you forget to return their monthly card—they send you an item you don't want and a bill for $4.98, $5.98, $6.98, or $7.98! In effect, you may be charged almost double for your records and tapes.

BUT RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA ENDS ALL THAT!

We're the largest **all-label** record and tape club in the world. Choose any LP or tape (cartridges and cassettes), including new releases. No exceptions! Take as many, or as few, or no selections at all if you so decide. Discounts are GUARANTEED AS HIGH AS 79% OFF! You always save at least 33⅓%. You get best sellers for as low as 99¢.

NO AUTOMATIC SHIPMENTS

With our Club there are no cards which you must return to prevent shipment of unwanted LPs or tapes (which you would have to return at your own expense if you have failed to send written notice not to ship). The postage alone for returning these cards each month to the other clubs costs almost an additional $2.40. **We send only what you order.**

HOW CAN WE BREAK ALL RECORD AND TAPE CLUB RULES?

We are the only major record and tape club NOT OWNED... NOT CONTROLLED... NOT SUBSIDIZED by any record or tape manufacturer anywhere. Therefore, we are not obliged by company policy to push any one label. Nor are we prevented by distribution commitments from offering the very newest LPs and tapes.

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Join RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA now and take advantage of this special **Introductory Membership Offer.** Choose any 3 LPs or any 1 tape shown here (worth up to $20.94) and mail coupon with check or money order for $5.00 membership fee (a small handling and mailing fee for your free LPs or tapes will be sent later). **If you can't find 3 LPs or 1 tape here, you can defer your selection and choose from expanded list later.** This entitles you to LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP—and you never pay another club fee. Your savings have already more than made up for the nominal membership fee.

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If you prefer, you may charge your membership to one of your credit cards. We honor four different plans. Check your preference and fill in your account number on the coupon.

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All LPs and tapes ordered by members are shipped same day received (orders from the Master Catalog may take a few days longer). ALL RECORDS AND TAPES GUARANTEED—factory new and completely satisfactory or replacements will be made without question.

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If you aren't absolutely delighted with our discounts (up to 79%)—return items within 10 days and membership fee will be returned AT ONCE! Join over two million budget-wise record and tape collectors now.

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Check one: ☐ **Diners Club** ☐ **Master Charge** ☐ **American Express** ☐ **BankAmericard**

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[Hard Times]

Internal Security Makes a Comeback

"There are already hints that other repressive devices are being developed . . . . the Internal Security Division has converted grand jury investigations into star chamber proceedings . . . . the Nixon administration is drafting plans for the automatic firing of all federal employees who are members of any organization the government finds subversive . . . . and Nixon is trying to revive the Subversive Activities Control Board."

THE INTERNAL SECURITY DIVISION (ISD) of the Justice Department was always regarded as something of a laughing stock. It was created in 1954, at the height of the McCarthy red scare, to prosecute conspiracy cases under the Smith Act (which defined it a crime "to teach and advocate the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence.") Over the years, it prosecuted fewer and fewer conspirators and obtained practically no convictions. Annually the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee would derisively ask the Division's head about Internal Security's present "imposing" workload and suggest that it be subsumed once again under Justice's Criminal Division. Internal Security's attorneys dwindled in number from 94 in 1954 to 42 in 1969. During Ramsey Clark's tenure as Attorney General, the Justice Department seriously considered ending ISD's independent existence.

Now, suddenly within the last year, the moribund Internal Security Division has emerged as the cutting edge in the government's battle against subversion. In the fall of 1970, Attorney General Mitchell announced that the ISD would be given more responsibility in rooting out radicals. At the same time Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst directed that all bombings, burnings, etc. be referred to the chief of the Justice Department's Criminal Division, who would assign them to the Internal Security Division if they appeared to have political overtones; Will Wilson, then head of the Criminal Division, immediately assigned the ISD 4000 draft resistor cases.

Soon afterwards, Internal Security's old director, Walter Yeagley, was eased out (named by Nixon as a recess appointment to the Washington, D.C. Court of Appeals after his initial nomination to the Court was rejected by the Senate District Committee). And Robert Mardian took over. Senator James Eastland said after Mardian's appointment, "Walter Yeagley was a nice man, but you used to see him only once every week or so. Mardian will be in the thick of things." Mardian is a good friend of Kleindienst's, was his choice for the position, and shares Kleindienst's ill regard for "ideological criminals." (If Kleindienst becomes Attorney General after Mitchell's departure to manage Nixon's campaign, Mardian may well be made his Deputy.) Mardian was Goldwater's western campaign manager in 1964 and worked in Nixon's 1968 campaign. He started out as an attorney in Pasadena, California where he served on the Pasadena school board which was later prosecuted for discrimination by the Justice Department. He then went to work as General Counsel for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, where he advised HEW Secretary Robert Finch to quickly and secretly relax the federal school desegregation guidelines. In 1970, he resigned from HEW to become executive director of a White House group, headed by Vice President Agnew, formed to help southern school districts which were grappling with court-ordered desegregation. Mardian was critical of civil rights groups "who seek to eliminate segregation in a manner which fails to make allowances for the problems generated by the previously sanctioned laws and which has tended to polarize public opinion against the reverse evolutionary process." In November 1970, he moved to the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department.

Mardian has welded the Internal Security Division into the sharpest tool the government now has to eliminate radical activity. The Division has been conducting grand jury investigations over the last year throughout the United States—in Tucson, Harrisburg, Seattle, Manhattan, Brooklyn, Detroit, Cleveland, Kansas City, Mo., Boston, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C. and many other cities. Grand juries have held inquiries into the Berrigans, the Capitol bombing, the Mayday demonstrations, Ellsberg and the Pentagon papers, the bombing of the University of Wisconsin's Mathematics Research Center, the activities of various Weatherpeople and about 40 other cases. Most of the investigations have been prosecuted by Guy Goodwin, who heads the ISD's prosecuting wing, the Special Litigation Section. SLS receives much of its intelligence from another section of the ISD whose purpose is to analyze litigation that the division is considering; this unit—headed by John

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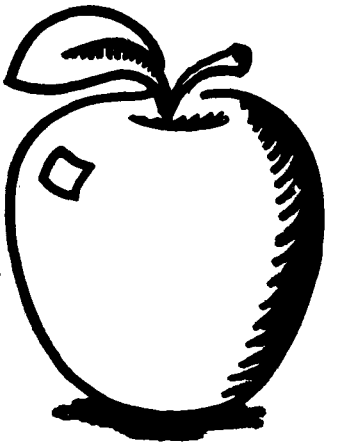

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Dear Fellow Human:

This is not a scare ad. If you can read—let alone smell, taste and breathe—you're probably scared enough.

Because reports have shown that a flood of chemicals has invaded your family's diet. Possibly robbing your food of its flavor and wholesomeness. Possibly robbing you of your health and years of life as well.

You've read that 20 states have issued bans or warnings against their fish, poultry and game because of mercury poisoning that has caused blindness, brain-damage and death.

That some doctors now suggest infants should not drink their mother's milk, because the DDT content of mother's milk in America is now *four times higher than the maximum permissible "safety" level.*

That of 20 top brands of fish sticks, 51% tested out as bacteriologically contaminated.

That the paraffin-wax coating applied (for "visual appeal") to 70% of all fruits, vegetables and produce sold in this country may be a cancer producer, which cannot be washed off or cooked out.

That to fatten profits, 75% of the entire American beef supply is now being "primed" with a growth hormone called *stilbestrol,* also a potential cancer producer.

That even drinking water is now so contaminated that, according to the Wall Street Journal, *bottled water is one of the fastest growing businesses in the United States!*

"Organic foods"—what are they? (And how can they help?)

"Organic" doesn't describe the food—*but how it has been grown and prepared.* Quite simply—organic food has NOT been sprayed, stimulated, bleached, colored, fortified, emulsified and processed to within an inch of its life (and yours). Some people call it "Health Food." Others say "Natural Food." We say only this: Remember how good food used to taste? And how good it was *for you*? That's what organic food, and The ECOLOGICAL FOOD SOCIETY, is all about.

Towards a "total organic environment"

More than just a supermarket by mail (or a collection of wild-eyed food "faddists.") EFS was inspired by the findings of doctors, biologists, dieticians and ecologists who were alarmed at the contamination of our food supply and the accelerating destruction of our environment.

Through the support of members like yourself, EFS can encourage farmers, cattlemen, and manufacturers all over the country to STOP polluting our food, our air, *our lives.* It can encourage them in the only way practical —*by making it worth their while.* A farmer won't stop spraying poisons on his crop because you hand him a copy of "Silent Spring" —*but because you promise to buy that unsprayed crop.*

Similarly, bakers can stop emasculating their bread; poultrymen can stop force-feeding their hens with arsenic to make them lay faster; food-processors can stop flooding us with phosphate-laden detergents and non-bio-degradable containers—*only when they can be sure of selling their ecologically sound products at a fair market price.*

What is a "fair market price"?

Does it mean organic foods must cost more? Of course it does! (And don't believe anyone who tells you otherwise.) But they need not cost very much more, *when you order through the nationwide resources of The EFS.*

How the Society works for you

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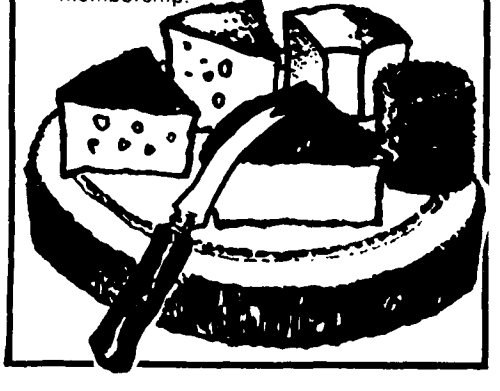

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THE RECENT GRAND JURY investigations have been efforts to gather intelligence about radical activities and the whereabouts of radicals underground. They have also been attempts to jail radicals by subpoenaing them as witnesses and then charging them with contempt if they refuse to testify. Grand juries were traditionally intended to safeguard the rights of potential indictees by placing a jury of peers between them and indictment. To protect those who might be indicted from outside embarrassment and censure, grand juries are conducted with the utmost secrecy; no one but witnesses may reveal what occurs in the grand jury room. There is no judge, nor may the witness have an attorney with him; theoretically he does not need one, since he is not a potential indictee, but is merely there to corroborate or dispute evidence the prosecutor brings to the proceedings. Under the Nixon administration, the Internal Security Division has converted grand jury investigations into star chamber proceedings used not to press specific indictments but to gather general information about radicals from witnesses who may incriminate themselves by testifying, or bring contempt charges upon themselves by remaining silent.

Before the Tucson grand jury, Los Angeles radicals were asked broad questions about discussions and meetings with others in the movement. Witnesses in Detroit were asked many of the same questions Leslie Bacon was asked in Seattle, demonstrating the government's attempt to link the Capitol bombing to the Mayday demonstrations. In Harrisburg, the witnesses were all asked the same general information in the hope that one might talk. In Madison, a state grand jury is beginning an inquiry into the bombing of the University of Wisconsin's Math Research Center; since the four principal suspects in the case have been underground for over a year now, the government is probably seeking information about their location. The intelligence-gathering function of these grand juries was most blatantly demonstrated in Brooklyn, where the federal prosecutor frequently left the grand jury room to consult with an FBI agent who provided him with cards containing questions the FBI wanted answered. The prosecutor would then return to the grand jury room and read the questions to the witnesses. Robert Mardian is quite open about this use of grand juries. He says, "Certainly we use grand juries for investigative purposes. We wouldn't have to if we could simply send out an FBI agent and start asking questions. . . . [Grand juries] can run your tail off."

Actually, grand juries have not yet proved to be an effective means of repression. Witnesses' attorneys have challenged the government at every stage of the proceedings on its violation of at least five constitutional amendments. In Manhattan, the state simply withdrew the subpoenas after defense attorneys challenged them on several grounds—among them, the use of illegal electronic surveillance to collect the information on which the subpoenas were based; the illegal congregation of a grand jury to investigate a federal complaint against Leslie Bacon based on testimony the Seattle grand jury had illegally elicited from her; the use of the grand jury as a subpoena power for the FBI; and the grand jury's faulty composition, weighted against young people and non-voters. Most other grand jury proceedings have been at least temporarily halted pending Supreme Court decisions. Two cases now before the Supreme Court affirm the right of grand jury witnesses to demand a hearing at which the government would have to show illegal surveillance which produced the information upon which subpoenas were based; the success of this challenge rests partially on the outcome of a still pending 1968 Supreme Court case questioning the government's right to use electronic surveillance in national security cases.

Another challenge stalling grand jury progress is the dubious constitutionality of the immunity bestowed on

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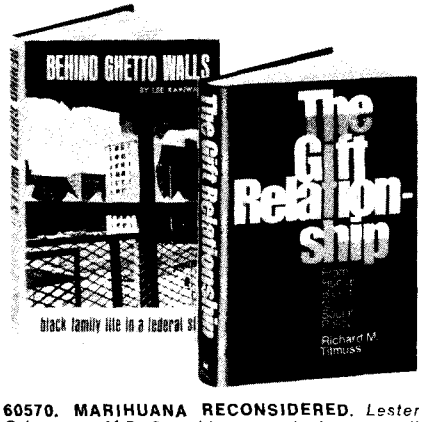

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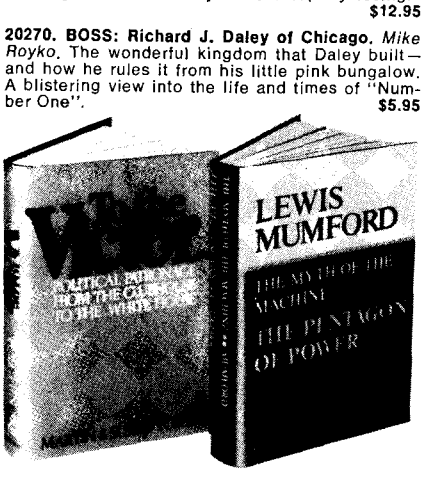

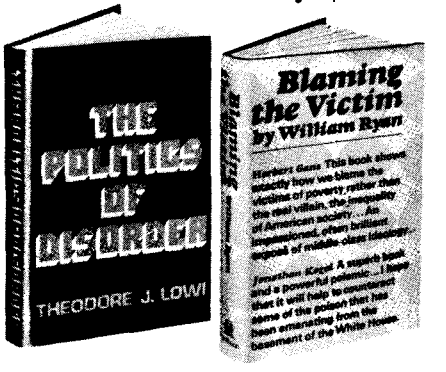

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The CIA as Cop

THERE IS MOUNTING speculation over the Central Intelligence Agency's role in domestic police operations. While the CIA does not have subpoena or police powers, it nonetheless maintains bases and covert operations within the United States. Heretofore, it was usually believed that these operations were of a counter-espionage nature, directed primarily against the Soviets. However, now there is increasing speculation *within* the Washington intelligence community that there is something else going on, that possibly the CIA has struck up a direct relationship with police forces in major cities.

Two fairly recent personnel shifts at the Agency set off this speculation. The first concerned Robert Kiley who was the operations officer in direct charge of the student activities during the 1960s. Kiley supervised the NSA operation, coordinating the various fronts. After the NSA was exposed, Kiley was brought back to the Agency headquarters at Langley and made executive assistant to Helms, the director. About six months ago Kiley left his job to become associate director of a new organization called the Police Foundation which was begun in 1970 on a $30 million grant from the Ford Foundation, "to help American police agencies realize their fullest potential by developing and funding promising programs of innovation and improvement."

The second personnel shift concerned the resignation from the CIA of Drexel Godfrey, who was head of the Office of Current Intelligence. Godfrey quit this job and in 1970 went to work for the Bureau of Narcotics at the Justice Department. Then he became executive director of the Governor's Justice Commission at Harrisburg, Pa., another recently formed organization to help improve law enforcement by giving grants to different local police departments.

While the Washington intelligence community may well be overly paranoid, the speculation is that these new organizations are reminiscent of the student fronts, and, more important, typical of Agency activities abroad. The fact that two former high officials left the Agency for police work simply adds to the speculation. Moreover, the CIA has taken an increasing interest in domestic police activities within the last few years. In 1968 Chicago police officers received high-level briefings at CIA headquarters in Langley and were taken to the CIA secret paramilitary training camps, maintained in Virginia and the Carolinas. The Los Angeles police are also believed to have been visitors. All of this was regarded as unusual within the Agency itself, and there was expectation by some officials that the CIA would finally get a crack at the student radicals.

But then suddenly the President announced that all domestic security work would be handled by the Army and the FBI. At the CIA, it seemed too sudden to be true. Based on past experience, some CIA men took the order as a go-ahead for covert work. They say that, if the Agency were to become deeply involved with the US police, it would probably first attempt simply to gather information, to create a situation where it could begin to analyze intelligence—on prison conditions, radicals, police, the FBI, and so on. Then it would attempt to change the nature of the police force, hoping to model it more on Agency theories—emphasizing such activities as counter-espionage, shrewd intelligence analysis, etc. On an operations level, one way in which the Agency might attempt to rationalize its increased domestic activities would be to cite alleged connections between radical groups and the Soviets or Chinese, warning of increased activities by Soviet espionage, and under that rationalization increase its operations at the secret US bases.

—JAMES RIDGEWAY

grand jury witnesses, forcing them to testify. Use immunity, part of the 1970 Crime Control Bill, grants a witness immunity only on the basis of his own testimony; the government may subsequently prosecute the witness if it can locate independent evidence corroborating illegal acts he described in the grand jury room; a Supreme Court decision on the constitutionality of use immunity is pending.

A less promising defense against the grand jury's investigative power has been in the First Amendment right to free speech. Several writers have avoided subpoenas by claiming that defense; but it offers far less widespread protection than those challenging illegal wiretaps and use immunity.

If the Supreme Court rules for the government on the constitutionality of electronic surveillance and use immunity, anyone refusing to cooperate with a grand jury will most likely go to jail. Mardian has unequivocal views on the rights of grand jury witnesses: "Obviously you can't give witnesses before a grand jury the rights of the accused. It would stop the wheels of justice from turning." The new composition of the Supreme Court may shape grand jury proceedings into a foolproof way of trapping radicals. So far, however, although several grand juries have brought indictments, few witnesses have gone to jail for more than a brief time, and most investigations have stopped for now. Several movement attorneys feel that this form of inquisition may be proving more trouble than it is worth to the government.

WHATEVER THE OUTCOME of this tactic, relations between the Internal Security Division and the FBI have flourished because of it. FBI agents are said to admire Mardian; they help out in harassing prospective grand jury witnesses, and, reciprocally, ISD lawyers accompany FBI agents in making arrests and conducting investigations. A Camden, New Jersey grand jury recently indicted 24 people for allegedly plotting to destroy draft records. When the FBI arrested the 24 at the Camden Draft Board at 4:30 AM, Goodwin came along to greet the arrestees by

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their nicknames, then telephoned Mitchell and Hoover to notify them of his success. The ISD wanted a Chilean to testify voluntarily before the Harrisburg grand jury. To convince him to do so, FBI agents continually harassed him and immigration officials threatened him with deportation or the draft. Two ISD attorneys, Joseph Tafe and William Lynch, special prosecutor in the case against Philip Berrigan, sat in on meetings with the Immigration authorities. Tafe and the FBI also interrogated Philadelphia nuns and priests about the Berrigans. FBI agents tried to help the ISD conduct its Washington, D.C. grand jury investigation by threatening the Mayday contingent from Texas with a Texas grand jury hearing if they did not answer questions the FBI agents put to them. The FBI has interrogated parents and friends even of witnesses not subpoenaed but merely sought by grand juries for interviews.

There are already hints that other repressive devices are being developed if the grand jury tack fails to contain radicalism. The Nixon administration is now drafting plans for the automatic firing of all federal employees who are members of any organization the government finds subversive. Government workers in any job would be subject to the new regulations, legal safeguards which now prevent such firing would be dropped, and any employee could be dismissed if the government decided his continued employment "would not promote the efficiency of the service."

In addition, Nixon is now trying to revive the Subversive Activities Control Board, created by the Internal Security Act of 1950 to hold hearings determining whether certain groups are communist related. In 20 years, it has never succeeded in getting an organization to register as communist; in every case but one, rulings which have been challenged in court have been reversed. The Internal Security Act itself has been found unconstitutional. Nixon was one of the Act's principal sponsors in 1950, however, and last July he promulgated an executive order allowing the SACB to decide whether new radical groups should be added to the Attorney General's list of "un-American" organizations which federal employees may not join (no group has been added to this list since 1955). Nixon wants to grant the SACB power to hold hearings, based on Justice Department petitions, to decide which groups should be added or removed from the list. Senator Ervin has challenged the order, on the grounds that Nixon simply wants to revive, by fiat, legislation which has been found unconstitutional. Ervin is seeking to delete the SACB's entire $450,000 budget request in order to prevent it from carrying out the order. Representative Richard Ichord, chairman of the House Internal Security Committee, has introduced another bill which abolishes the SACB but establishes a new loyalty oath government employees must take, swearing that they do not belong to a number of organizations which the Attorney General will determine and enumerate. This new list, which ostensibly will apply only to government employees, has broader implications. It increases the number of organizations that ordinary citizens may associate with only at the peril of future indictments.

—FRANCES LANG

Blue Cross Lobby

BLUE CROSS IS TAKING such a pasting in the press that Walter J. McNerney, president of the Association, recently created a secret lobby to ensure that Blue Cross gets control of the national health insurance program. In a confidential memo to the different plans McNerney said a special task force is to develop "an appreciation in the minds of key decision-makers that only through Blue Cross can truly effective and efficient provision be made for financing health care of the nation." He added, "We believe it is critical to the effectiveness of this type of legislative activity that it be low key, with no out-of-plan publicity. That means confidentiality, including only those who can contribute to its accomplishments."

Another reason for the confidentiality is the criticism by the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee over use of Blue Cross premiums for advertising and lobbying efforts. The Blue Cross Association maintains an elaborate publicity operation at its Chicago headquarters, complete with closed-circuit teletype networks to all plan offices. It even sends the different plans a morning news report, relating events in medicine, but especially informing them about the latest scandals in health politics and elsewhere. At the same time, the Blue Cross Association pays $100,000 a year for public relations to Anna M. Rosenberg Associates in New York. Rosenberg was an assistant defense secretary in the Truman administration. In Washington the Blue Cross Association has a public relations staff and recently employed George Kelley, the former aide to Congressman Fogarty, as chief lobbyist. For years Fogarty was the key man in the Capitol if you wanted to sell a health bill.

Blue Cross has been criticized before for its lobbying tactics. In the early 1960s, Blue Cross launched an under-the-table advertising campaign spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to beat Medicare. In his report rationalizing the existence of the new secret task force, Kelley writes, "I cannot stress too strongly that, despite momentary diversions such as the present wage-price freeze, the campaign to nationalize health care is continuing its momentum. What we do to counteract the trend must be done intelligently and with speed. . . . This task force is an effective tool toward that end. The more cooperation and help given it, the better the possibility of success for the private sector in whatever final bill is enacted."

Blue Cross organizations in Denver, New Orleans, Chicago, New York and Delaware provided men for the operation. They went through a month-long indoctrination on the "operation and hierarchy of Congress." The Blue Cross lobbyists are to concentrate on the 100 key decision-makers "who will decide what eventually will go into a national health insurance bill." Kelley adds that, in dealing with the decision-makers, "they must be made to understand that to ignore our capabilities or to duplicate our assets would be unconscionable."

—J.R.

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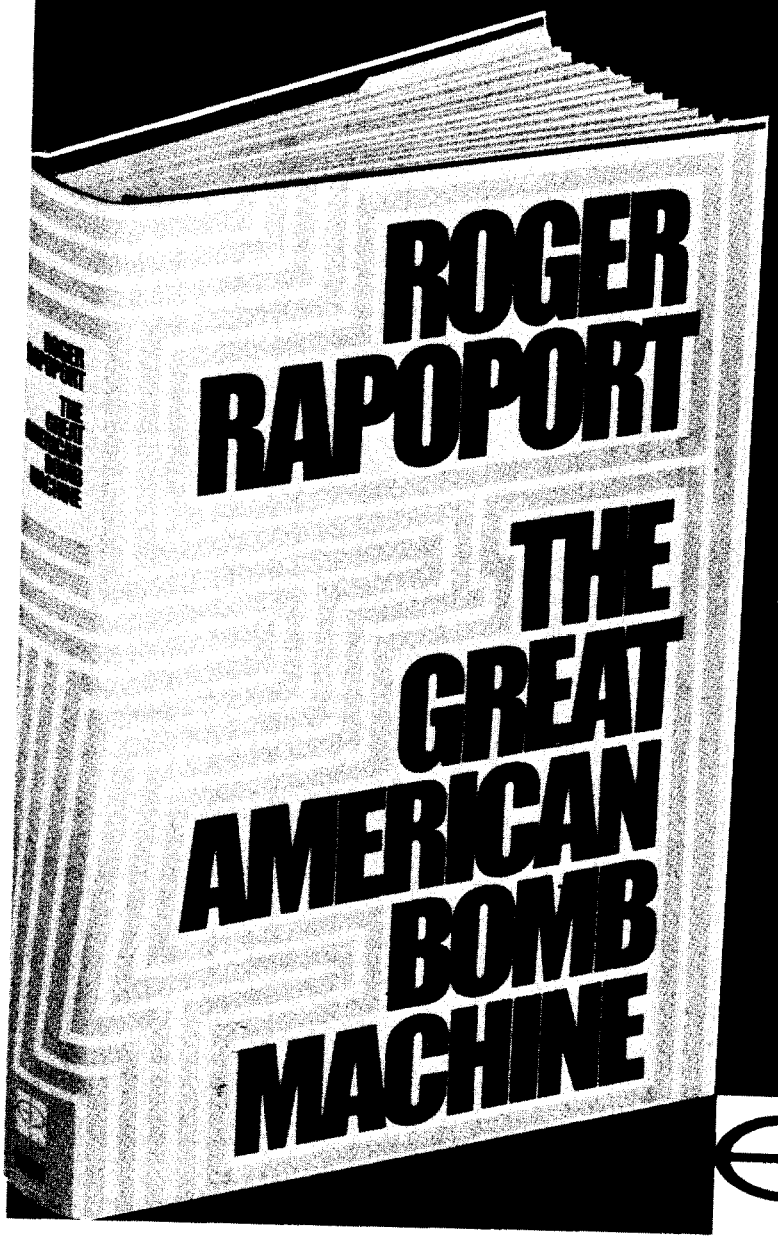

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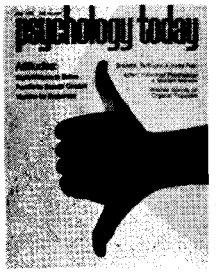

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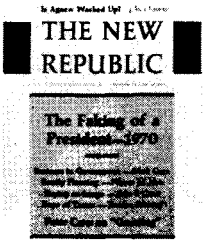

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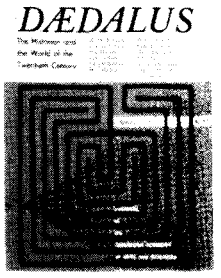

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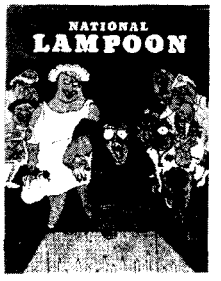

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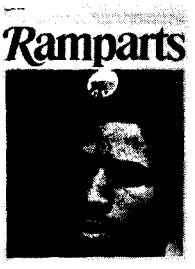

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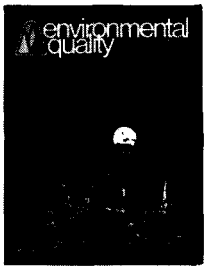

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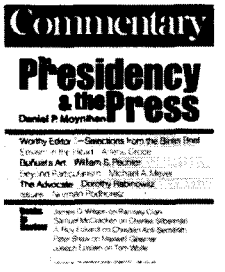

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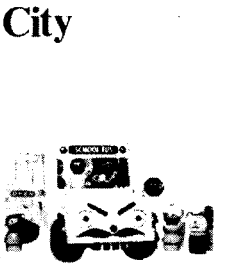

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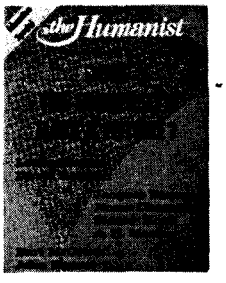

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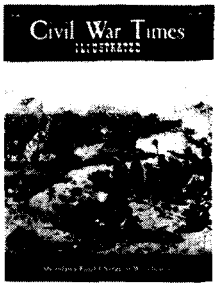

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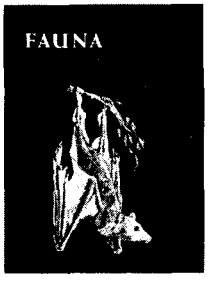

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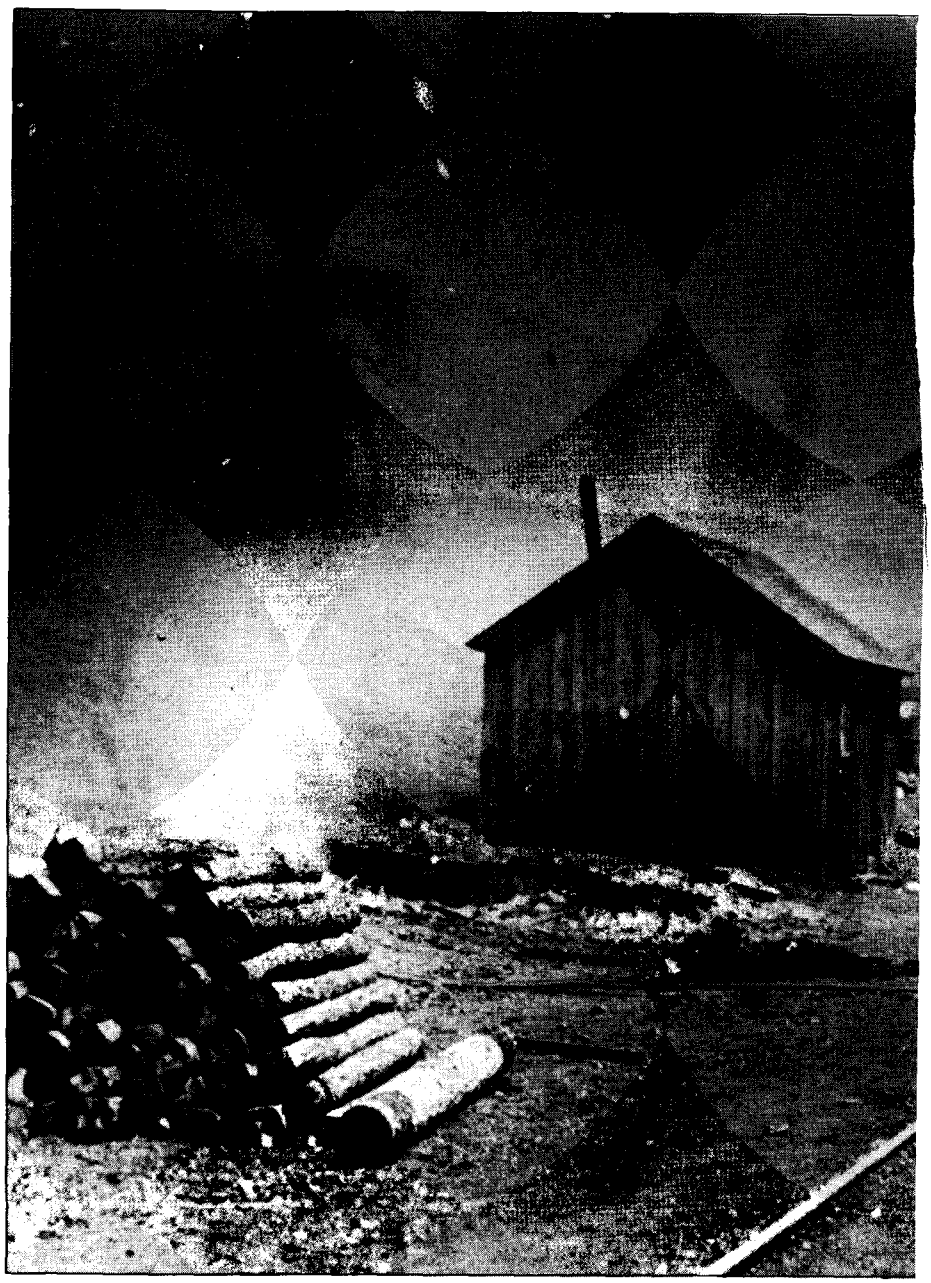
Ludlow Massacre Revisited

"In his testimony . . . Rockefeller revealed that he was entirely ignorant of the conditions of Colorado Fuel and Iron's employees. He did not know their annual wage, nor what they paid the Company for rent. He had visited a miners' camp only once and had not even been in Colorado for ten years."



NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S invasion of the Attica prison and subsequent murder of 42 persons recalls a similar invasion and another Rockefeller 58 years ago. Nelson Rockefeller dealt with Attica in the same way his father, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. put down the strike by 9000 mine workers at the Rockefeller-controlled Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. in 1914. Nelson's refusal to travel to Attica to negotiate personally with the

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prisoners and his determination that they be forcibly taught not to question authority were foreshadowed in his father's bloody crushing of that strike. Both led to massacres of oppressed people who were attempting to alter the intolerable conditions of their lives.

In September 1913, about 9000 miners at the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company went on strike, demanding a minimal increase in wages, an eight-hour day, an end to Company domination over their lives, and recognition of the United Mine Workers' union. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., 40 percent owned by John D. Rockefeller, allowed no union activity. The Company paid its employees under $700 a year.

Photographs courtesy of Library of Congress

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Miners lived in Company houses, whose leases could be cancelled with three days' notice. They shopped at Company stores. The Company-owned camps were guarded by marshals to screen all who sought entrance and turn away union organizers. Company spies were employed to ferret out radical beliefs. The mine operators had repeatedly refused even to confer with the UMW about miners' unionization.

When the strike began, miners left the Company camps and "in snowstorms, carried their furniture and bedding on their backs and went into tent colonies." In response, Colorado Fuel and Iron imported strikebreakers and hired more guards; in addition, it brought in gunmen from Texas, New Mexico and West Virginia, whom local law enforcement officials willingly deputized and armed. These men dug rifle pits in the hills near the mining properties which they equipped with machine guns, rifles and searchlights. An armed automobile, called the "Death Special" by strikers, was constructed in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company shops. In October, "mine guards, who were deputy sheriffs, ran down to [the tent colony at] Forbes with an armored machine with three eighths inches of steel all around it, bullet proof, with two rapid fire guns, and opened fire upon [the colony], killed one man, shot at a boy nine times, shot through one man's tent 147 times . . ." according to testimony before the US House of Representatives Committee on Mines and Mining. The Death Special was on its way to the tent colony at Ludlow when armed miners shot it up, killing the engineer.

After several further attacks on tent colonies and more deaths among both miners and guards, the Governor of Colorado brought the entire National Guard and the state militia into the strike area; many of the militiamen were on the payroll of Rockefeller's Company and continually harassed the striking miners. Slowly the guard and militia were withdrawn, except for 35 troops left to guard the largest tent colony, outside Ludlow, composed of about 1200 people. In April 1914, these troops mounted a machine gun on a hill overlooking the colony and set off two bombs. Then they raked the tent camp with machine gun and rifle fire, killing five men and a boy. Next, they poured coal oil on the tents of Ludlow and set them afire, killing eleven children and two women who had been huddling for safety in pits under the tents. The militia took three prisoners, disarmed them, and killed them. They looted the colony with abandon and drove hundreds of women from their homes.

> "Rockefeller insisted that the strike had been engineered by outside agitators . . . . that his employees were content and had been intimidated into leaving their jobs."

THIS SLAUGHTER PROVOKED a massive uprising of the Colorado labor movement. Miners attacked mine after mine, driving off or killing the guards and setting fire to the buildings. In one action, 200 armed strikers left their base near Trinidad and attacked the Company-owned mining camp at Forbes. They burned buildings and killed nine guards and one strikebreaker. In the midst of this violence, the Chairman of the House Committee on Mines and Mining sent a telegram to John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (who oversaw his father's interest in Colorado Fuel and Iron) pleading that he enter into negotiations with the UMW. He wrote, "Mine workers will waive any recognition of the union or unionizing camps. Are you willing to enter into negotiations for settlement of strike on that basis and stop killing of men, women, and children? . . . In my judgment it is your duty to do so."

Rockefeller replied, "We cannot enter into negotiations of any character with the officers and agents of the United Mine Workers of America who alone are responsible for this terrible regime of disorder and bloodshed which has disgraced this state." When Rockefeller's reply was made public, he was burned and hanged in effigy. Mass meetings were held; in Manhattan there were public demonstrations in the streets and demonstrators picketed his Manhattan office and home and his estate in Tarrytown. But Rockefeller had won. In December 1914, miners voted to end the strike without having won a single demand.

Throughout the strike Rockefeller insisted that it had been engineered by outside agitators. Yet, in his testimony before the Committee on Mines and Mining, he revealed that he was entirely ignorant of the conditions of Colorado Fuel and Iron's employees. He did not know their annual wage, nor what they paid the Company for rent. He had visited a miners' camp once, and had not even been in Colorado for ten years. At one point in the Committee's proceedings, the Chairman asked Rockefeller, "Has it ever occurred to you, with the 10,000 employees that you have in Colorado, to investigate the conditions of those employees . . . which have been reported through the press as in many instances being bad, to investigate the conditions in your own plant, where this number of men are employed?" Rockefeller responded, "When I made the visit . . . to the plant in the earlier years, the thing that I observed most and was most gratified with was the extensive efforts that had been made to take care of the social . . . interests of the people." Rockefeller insisted that 90 percent of his Company's employees were content and that they had been intimidated into leaving their jobs.

CHAIRMAN FOSTER: *You are willing to let these killings take place rather than to go out there and see if you might do something to settle those conditions?*

ROCKEFELLER: *There is just one thing, Mr. Chairman, so far as I understand it, that can be done, as things are at present, to settle this strike, and that is to unionize the camps; and our interest in labor is so profound and we believe so sincerely that that interest demands that the camps shall be open camps, that we expect to stand by the officers at any cost.*

CHAIRMAN FOSTER: *And you would do that rather than recognize the right of men to collective bargaining? Is that what I understand?*

ROCKEFELLER: *No, sir, rather than allow outside people to come in and interfere with employees who are thoroughly satisfied with their labor conditions.* —F.L.

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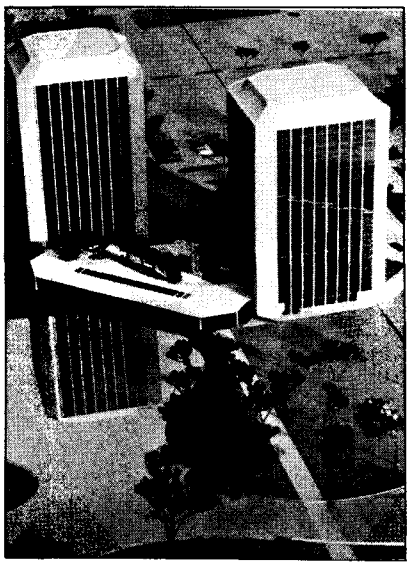
Corporation Towns

WITHIN THE LAST FEW years large corporations have entered the building industry, buying up and renovating entire sections of existing cities and constructing new towns or new communities on their outskirts. In part these firms (mainly oil, paper, steel, electrical equipment and utilities) want to take advantage of tax breaks in real estate. In part realty development is a way of extending their grasp on end markets.

In any event the entrance of major industrial corporations with immense capital resources and extensive land holdings dramatically changes city politics. Standard Oil of New Jersey, one of the companies which is building new communities, can rival any state or local government in terms of available capital, land and other resources. So decisions on land use, which once were influenced by warring factions of city officials, developers, labor unions and business, are now being made in the board rooms of large corporations.

The development in Washington, D.C. is typical. In the black section of town a consortium led by Westinghouse is developing plans for a new town. In the well-to-do white section of Cleveland Park, residents are fighting ITT-Hartford Fire Insurance plans for a large-scale realty development, in effect a little city within a city. In Georgetown, Inland Steel is developing plans for the waterfront. The citizenry of Washington has never had any self government, but, in the past, decisions affecting its affairs were made by the district committees of Congress or by the White House. Now large sections of the city are to be developed according to the plans of major industrial corporations with their headquarters at Pittsburgh, New York and Chicago. Around the periphery of Washington, other companies are building new communities for government workers. Gulf has Reston, Virginia, a new town in the Virginia countryside, and Boise Cascade is negotiating with local Virginia officals about building a new community there. US Steel is constructing a town in Maryland.

Land development is changing the character of the big corporations as well. US Steel, Westinghouse and Tenneco provide examples: US Steel seems to be rearranging its interests from those of a major steel producer to a far more diversified building concern. While the company is the leader in a depressed industry, it is also a major producer of other building goods, including cement. Through Forest Products Inc., jointly held with US Plywood-Champion Papers, US Steel provides lumber for houses. In addition, it is the fifth largest coal producer in the nation, and is now developing coal for increased sale. Through the US Steel Homes Division, the corporation has been a manufacturer of factory-produced homes and structural building components for more than 23 years, and now builds portable classrooms and dormitories as well. Alside, Inc.,



Architectural model of the 15-story twin-tower office complex to be built in Dearborn by Ford Motor Land Development Corporation.

PARTIAL LIST OF LAND DEVELOPMENTS BY MAJOR INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS

Company	Type of Development	Location
	OIL	
Mobil	housing projects	Hong Kong
Standard Oil of New Jersey	new community	Houston area
Shell	new community	Houston, Texas
Gulf	new town	Reston, Virginia
Standard Oil of California	shopping center	Richmond, California
	hi-rise offices	El Segundo, California
Texaco	new community	Anaheim Hills, California
	STEEL	
Bethlehem Steel	new community	Chicago, Illinois
Republic Steel	new community	Birmingham, Alabama
Inland Steel	waterfront development	Washington, D.C.
US Steel	city complexes	Fla., N. J., Ill., Ala., Pa., Md.
	NATURAL GAS PIPELINES	
El Paso Natural Gas (with Diversified Properties, Inc.)	new community	Tempe, Arizona
Tenneco		
(Tenneco West, Inc.)	new community	Bakersfield, California
	resort community	Los Padres Forest, California
(Tenneco Realty, Inc.)	offices, new community	Houston, Texas
(Palmetto Corporation)	land development	Texas
	AUTO	
Ford	new town	Dearborn, Michigan
Chrysler	resorts	Big Sky, Montana
	OTHER	
ALCOA	city complexes	Los Angeles, California New York City, N.Y. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Seattle, Washington San Francisco, California Washington, D.C.
Westinghouse	new community	
(with Building Systems Inc.)		
(Coral Ridge Properties)	new community	Fort Lauderdale (Fla.) area
(with Deane & Deane)	realty development	Half Moon Bay, California
	land holdings	Curacao, Netherlands Antilles
C. Brewer & Co.	resort communities	Hawaii

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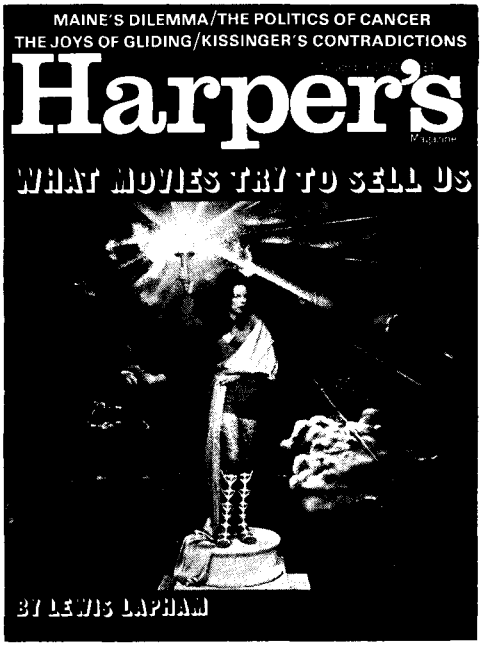
It's all in this month's Harper's



Hollywood's Dangerous Game

After viewing the current crop of "important" movies (among them *Klute, Doc, McCabe and Mrs. Miller*, and *Carnal Knowledge*), Lewis H. Lapham gets the rhetorical message. We're all more or less successful criminals—vicious, predatory, incapable of love or of distinguishing between good and evil.

Does this "truth & honesty" reflect our contemporary American society? Or does Hollywood cynically pander to the normal despair of the adolescent ticket buyers? It's a dangerous game in which the film makers could be the first and biggest losers.

For the full report on the vision the movies are trying to sell us, read the current Harper's Magazine.

Machismo in the Defense Establishment

For two decades the balance of power among nations has been unbalanced. In America's favor. And the most highly prized virtue among men in the defense establishment was toughness. A man willing to recommend violence never damaged his reputation—even when outvoted. Today, the game is too dangerous. The question is, do the managers of our national security recognize that the rules and realities have changed?

The Cancer Quarrel

Almost the entire medical and scientific community opposes The Conquest of Cancer Act. Yet, it's almost certain to win Congressional and Presidential approval —and a billion dollar annual budget to boot. Why? Mary Lasker wants it.

Oil on the Troubled Coast of Maine

The majestic rock-ribbed coast of Maine offers oil companies the only deep ocean ports in America. They're moving in to the chagrin of everyone, including the oil-rich millionaires who vacation on Maine's Penobscot Bay. Money versus power—guarantees a classic confrontation.

Politics of Parole

The Federal Parole Board answers to nobody. Its decisions are above appeal. But not above reproach. Statistics show injustice is rampant in this arm of Attorney General Mitchell's Justice Department. Particularly, if you're a political prisoner or a Vietnam war resister.

The High Cost of Free Enterprise

John Fischer gloomily predicts that Nixon won't be able to control inflation. The reason? The unrestricted demands of unions and the rigid practices of business have all but killed the free enterprise system.

I Am George Donner...

A dirt farmer/who left the snowy fields/around Springfield, Illinois/in the fullness of my life/and abandoned the land/where we had been successful/and prosperous people/and brought a party of eighty men/women and children/west by wagon. These lines begin George Keithley's brilliant, 16-page verse history of the ill-fated Donner Party's westward journey.

And More...

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another subsidiary, sells aluminum siding. In 1969 the company created the US Steel Realty Development Co. It owns two hotels at Walt Disney World in Florida, has two condominium projects at Belleair and Clearwater, Florida, plans to develop a tract in Dade County and has other realty projects underway in New Jersey, Maryland and Illinois. US Steel is building an industrial complex at Birmingham, Alabama, and plans other such projects in six states including California, Utah, Texas, Ohio, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. In addition, it is constructing a shopping center at Pittsburgh. The company also is active in financing—owning both a finance and a leasing outfit.

In addition to selling electrical appliances, Westinghouse makes power plants, elevators, runs television stations and school systems, bottles soda pop, sells wristwatches through the mail and rents cars. Through Coral Ridge Properties in Florida, Westinghouse built the new town of Coral Springs on 13,500 acres not far from Fort Lauderdale. Directly south of San Francisco along the Pacific coast, Westinghouse is in a realty project with Deane & Deane for development of 8000 acres around Half Moon Bay. It has other developments at Woburn, Mass., and owns 6000 acres at Sebring, Fla. In addition, Westinghouse owns land on the island of Curaçao in the Netherlands Antilles.

Tenneco is among the biggest landholders in California, where it develops both realty projects and farms. In addition, it is a major natural gas pipeline company, supplying the midwest and east coast markets through pipes running from the Texas Gulf Coast. Through a subsidiary, it builds tankers to carry gas to the US from Algeria. Abroad, it has important oil and gas holdings in the North Sea, Indonesia, and off eastern Canada.

In recent years the large oil companies deliberately changed themselves into "energy" companies, taking positions in uranium and coal as well as maintaining their positions in oil and natural gas. (In addition, oil companies own the largest merchant fleets in the world and own large ports and pipelines.) They also have extensive holdings in the chemicals industry.

In Texas, Standard Oil of New Jersey, the largest producer of oil and gas in the world, is building a new community at Houston, and has two other realty projects in process. Shell has a development in Houston and one in Kansas City. Gulf, which owns Reston, recently formed a special division to build new towns in Texas, California, Arizona, Maryland, Virginia and Florida. In Hong Kong, Mobil is building the world's largest privately financed housing project, Mei Foo New Village, which on completion will house upwards of 70,000 people. Begun in 1966, this project will number about 100 buildings on completion. Mobil took part in this venture because it offered the company an opportunity to use land it had acquired in building an oil terminal. Mobil plans a new subsidiary, Mobil Estates Ltd., which will have its headquarters in Vancouver, B.C., and will engage in large-scale realty development around the world. Standard Oil of California and Texaco also have land development divisions.

Electric utilities are getting more involved in land and are lobbying a bill in Congress which would give them housing subsidies under the Model Cities act. Southern California Edison has a new community west of Los Angeles. Florida Power & Light is dabbling in land development in Florida. Both Ford and Chrysler are involved in large-scale land development—Ford building a new town within the city of Dearborn, and Chrysler working with Chet Huntley on the Big Sky resorts development in Montana. C. Brewer & Co., a big sugar outfit in Hawaii, is building resort communities which it hopes to sell to the Japanese and Americans. Through Macco Corp., Arvida Corp., and Great Southwest Corp., Penn Central is deeply involved in real estate development. Most of the other major railroads which have large land holdings also are in land development or agribusiness. —J.R.

The Smathers Machine

AMONG THE PRESIDENT'S most intimate associates is George Smathers, the former Democratic Senator from Florida, who guided Nixon through various complex business investments and introduced him to his bosom buddy, Charles G. (Bebe) Rebozo. Since his retirement for supposed health reasons from the Senate in 1968, Smathers has emerged as an important lobbyist in Washington with over $1 million in business. Recently *Newsday* dispatched a team of six reporters to make an extensive inquiry into the affairs of the former Senator. Their interesting, detailed report is available in reprint form from the paper at Garden City, Long Island. Some of the discoveries are summarized below.

Smathers was first elected to the House in 1946 with the help of Claude Pepper, then a Florida Senator. The two were friends until 1950 when Smathers turned against his former political advisor running against him for the Senate. Smathers won by red-baiting Pepper, calling him the leader of radicals and extremists. In one memorable speech he declared, "Thank God, thank God, I don't have to wear the crimson of Pepper's and Felix Frankfurter's Harvard Law School. Alger Hiss is no classmate of mine." (Pepper didn't get back into Congress until 1962 when he was elected a Congressman from a Miami district.) Smathers' attack on Pepper had a lasting impression on LBJ, who kept close tabs on him, one time warning Smathers in Bobby Baker's presence, "You double-crossed Claude Pepper but you won't double-cross me."

Smathers' red-baiting techniques were so successful that politicians from out of state dropped by to study his elaborate files, referred to locally as the "Red Pepper Lesson." Among his political admirers were Jack Kennedy and Richard Nixon. Smathers was an usher in Kennedy's wedding, and he introduced Nixon to Rebozo. Rebozo was a member of the Goon Squad, a group of political advisors Smathers had gathered around him to beat Pepper. Nixon thought so much of the Red Pepper Lesson that he devised a "Pink Lady" version, which he used in the campaign against Helen Gahagan Douglas. Smathers, Rebozo and Nixon became fast friends. They shared a fawning admiration for Trujillo and en-

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gaged in business deals, one involving an investment on Fisher Island, the largest undeveloped piece of ocean-front property in the Miami area.

Smathers didn't introduce much legislation in Congress, but he was a member of the inner club which ran the place and consequently was highly regarded. He was best known as a staunch advocate for the corporate interests represented by his Miami law firm, one of whose clients was Pan Am. In the airline's interest Smathers pushed legislation which would make foreign airlines entering the US charge the same fares as US carriers. He fought to prevent the Post Office from liberalizing the maximum size of parcel post packages, a move which might have cut into the business of Railway Express, another client. He worked hard in behalf of the Transportation Act of 1958 which made it possible for railroads to drop unprofitable passenger service, and he took part in a successful campaign to eliminate the 3 percent cargo tax. That all went to benefit another client, Seaboard Airline Railroad. After he retired from the Senate, one of Smather's first Washington clients was the Association of American Railroads.

SMATHERS WAS ONE OF Bobby Baker's business partners, but the Senate committee which investigated Baker deliberately stayed away from Smathers. Only three days before Baker was indicted in 1966, Smathers announced that because of health reasons he probably would be retiring from the Senate.

Smathers told his associates he was tired of being "picked at" as a Senator and yearned instead for the "dignity" of life on the outside. "A fellow with my background can make more money in 30 days out here than he can in 15 years as a Senator," he explained.

The Smathers family organization and fortune are based on law firms and banks. George runs the law firms; his brother, Frank Jr., handles the banks. George Smathers has two law firms, one in Washington (Smathers & Merrigan), the other in Miami (Smathers & Thompson). He maintains an apartment at the Watergate near Mitchell and Javits, and has a villa at Key Biscayne, near the President. The Wash-

Former Senator George Smathers

ington law firm lobbies, while the Miami operation does the basic corporate work. Its clients include or have included Pan Am, Union Carbide, Western Union, Gulf Oil, Tropical Gas, Phillips Petroleum, Security Insurance Group, Anheuser-Busch, American International Marine Agency, Union Marine & General Insurance Co., and the Seaboard Airline Railroad.

Frank Smathers, Jr. is chairman of United Bancshares of Florida, Inc., which owns several prosperous south Florida banks. The Smathers brothers and relatives all told own 56.4 percent of United Bancshares. Until recently George Smathers also was tied to Commercial Bancorp, Inc., controlled by Hoke T. Maroon, one of his early backers and an original member of the Goon Squad. But when Commercial Bancorp told Smathers he would have to choose between banking groups, Smathers dropped out.

According to the *Newsday* report, Smathers lined up some of his current, high-paying clients while he was a Senator. For instance, he became owner of two Winn-Dixie food stores as a Senator and led a fight to keep the Treasury Department from imposing tight regulations over deferred stock options. Winn-Dixie was then developing a tax savings plan to take advantage of that loophole. The month after he left the Senate, Smathers became a director of Winn-Dixie. At that time he revealed in a report to the Securities and Exchange Commission that he had stock holdings of 14,000 shares, reportedly worth $400,000. It is not known when the stock was purchased.

As a Senator, Smathers led an effort by Florida politicians to save Aerodex Inc., a Miami defense contractor, which the Air Force claimed was engaged in poor quality work, making faulty airplane engines. Shortly after he retired from the Senate, Smathers was named a member of the Aerodex board of directors and allowed to buy $435,000 worth of stock for only $20,000 His law firm was given a $25,000 retainer. After *Newsday* began making inquiries, Smathers quit the firm's board of directors.

CHAIRMAN CONNALLY SPEAKS

"This is why I sit before the Congressional committees of the Congress and without fear whatsoever or without embarrassment or without shame, say that I think profits are too low in this country. This is why I can sit there and say to a Congressman or a Senator that 'No, I don't think we ought to impose any more taxes on the oil and gas industry.' This is why I can say . . . that I thought the Congress had gone too far in reducing individual income taxes $36.4 billion over the last five years while raising corporate taxes $3.2 billion, that I thought it was basically unfair, that I think you can overdo what you promise and give to an individual, that what we have to concern ourselves with is who provides the jobs. . . ."

John Connally, before the Texas Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Association, Dallas, October 12, 1971.

Wide World Photo

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Smathers is also a director of Gulf & Western, and most recently turned up as a director of the National Bank of Washington, most of whose stock is owned by United Mine Workers.

Smathers draws $75,000 a year from the Horse Council, which retained him in 1960 to fight off efforts to close a loophole in the Tax Reform Act. The tax loophole allows wealthy individuals and corporations to obtain tax benefits intended for small farmers. Smathers personally pleaded the cause of the wealthy horsemen at a meeting with Nixon. Then Smathers arranged for Nixon to meet with the horsemen. Subsequently, through Rebozo, Smathers reportedly provided the President with a list showing that in previous years the horsemen had contributed $6 million to various GOP candidates. The loophole was left open.

—J.R.

Vaccines

MOST PEOPLE IN THE United States take immunizing vaccines as a matter of course. Recently, however, doctors have begun raising questions as to whether in some cases vaccines are not as dangerous as the diseases they purport to prevent. Influenza vaccine, among the more suspect, is now under investigation by Senator Abraham Ribicoff's Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization and Government Research. In addition, doctors at the National Institutes of Health's Division of Biologics Standards, which licenses drugs for release to the public, are seeking to limit the vaccine's distribution pending more conclusive determination of its worth.

Flu vaccine was first prepared just before 1940 and is now widely manufactured and distributed. As early as 1944, however, clinical studies had begun to indicate that the vaccine might not result in reduced susceptibility to flu virus infection. In that year, one group of volunteers tested the vaccine by inhaling flu virus in a laboratory experiment, thereby contracting the disease. One third of those people became ill with flu again within four months. Many other experiments have been conducted showing that flu can be acquired twice within one year. If the disease itself does not confer immunity on those who contract it, no vaccine can give such protection.

Many scientists believe flu vaccine has little immunizing value, since it does not produce antibodies in the specific organs which influenza attacks. Furthermore, the vaccine might be dangerous. It contains antigens which, when injected into humans, induce the formation of specific anti-bodies directed against that antigen. Tests suggest that in pregnant women this can result in fetal damage. Although pregnant women are not now advised to take flu vaccine, they were not warned of its dangers in the past.

The vaccine's drawbacks have been suspected for almost 30 years; yet attempts to publicize them often have been suppressed. An epidemiologist at the National Communicable Disease Center in Atlanta published his reservations concerning the vaccine in 1964 and was severely criticized by the medical community for doing so. Administrative officers at NIH's Division of Biologics Standards (DBS) were first notified of the drug's limitations and possible dangers in 1963 but claimed there was not enough evidence to take action. By 1966, doctors at the DBS had produced clearer evidence against the vaccine's efficacy, but when one of these men, Dr. J. Anthony Morris, brought his documentation to the attention of the Division's Director, Roderick Murray, he was relieved of all activities concerning further research into the vaccine. Dr. Murray removed all Dr. Morris's records, sera, viruses, and books concerning flu vaccine. According to Dr. Morris, Murray sought to prevent his efforts to publish his research, and delayed for over three years the appearance of Morris' findings in scientific literature. He also blocked efforts to begin collaborative studies among scientists at NIH, other government agencies, and universities aimed at improving the vaccine. Finally, Dr. Morris turned to James Turner, a public interest lawyer who is representing him in a Civil Service grievance proceeding which has broadened into a government examination of the Division of Biologics Standards. The Division is under investigation not only by Senator Ribicoff's Subcommittee, but also by the General Accounting Office, by a committee of outside advisors to DBS, and by an NIH management group. Alexis Shelokov, the DBS official in charge of flu vaccine from 1963 until 1968, who did nothing during that time to prevent wide public distribution of the vaccine, testified before the DBS grievance committee, "for many years, I have not taken influenza vaccine myself or given it to my family . . . I am not satisfied with its potency."

Other vaccines are also being called into question. Smallpox vaccine was once invaluable, but many scientists assert that smallpox has now been eradicated throughout most of the world. They say there is more danger now of people contracting a serious virus infection from the vaccine than of their contracting smallpox. Cholera vaccine is virtually useless. Rather than preventing the disease, it suppresses it, allowing people to carry cholera in their blood and excrete cholera bacteria, thus spreading it. Many doctors say a far more effective way of fighting cholera is to replace the salty fluids that cholera victims have lost. Last year, the US Surgeon General announced, "There is clear evidence that cholera vaccine is of little use in preventing spread of cholera . . . the only effective method for preventing the spread of the disease is improvement of environmental sanitation." Yet numerous medical professionals still do not acknowledge or advise their patients of the vaccine's drawbacks. The current cholera epidemics in Egypt and in India are being fought with the vaccine.

Pertussis (whooping cough) vaccine, given to infants, is a necessary vaccination, but it can cause brain damage in some percentage of the infants who receive it. According to a study in the British journal, *Medical Officer*, 23 infants suffer brain damage out of every 1000 vaccinated. In the worst cases, infants suffer severe, irreversible damage. More often, they simply develop temporary fever, twitching and other relatively minor disturbances. Some physicians charge that these reactions could be prevented if a more concerted effort were made to purify the vaccine. They assert that experiments on methods of purification were stymied at NIH for years. NIH officials, however, deny the charge.

—F.L.

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Japan: Rising Sun in the Pacific

"Here again we find the shape of the New Pacific Age, where a new order will be created by Japan and the United States...."
Prime Minister Sato, 1969

"Japan limits its imports from the United States to a narrow range of items which consists only one-third of manufactured articles with the remaining two-thirds in the form of raw materials and agricultural products. Quite naturally, Americans find that ratio almost insulting."
George Ball, former US Under Secretary of State, 1970

"We realize that the Japanese are getting through commerce what they failed to achieve through war."
Jose Diokno, Chairman of the Philippine
Senate Economic Affairs Committee, 1970

ONE SOUTHEAST ASIAN DIPLOMAT, bemoaning the troubles of his country late in 1970, grumbled: "No one won the Vietnam war, except possibly Japan." In fact, it had been a very good decade, all in all, for the Japanese. No other Asian country seemed so economically dynamic as the decade of the 1960s ended; no other so self-confident; no other so close to "equality" with the greatest of the global powers—the United States.

Yet for American officials it was a disastrous decade. Nowhere was the contrast more marked: as the Americans were invading Cambodia, the Japanese were in Osaka greeting visitors to Expo.

Summer 1971 found another Japan: its leaders neglected, apprehensive, insulted; confronted with a challenge greater than any they had faced since August 1945. They had sought to play out their role within the context of America's global empire, only to find their part undercut by a rewriting of the traditional script. Somehow, the cost of the American effort in Vietnam, the collapse of the dollar as an international monetary standard, the emergence of a new American China policy, seemed to be eroding the very world in which the Japanese had taken a stand ever since the early 1950s. Now, instead of an appreciative American acceptance of their "economic miracle," they found an ugly America seeking to throw the full weight of its powerful economy against them.

If the Japanese leadership was angry at the United States, they certainly had a right to be; for no nation had been more influential in shaping Japan for two decades than the United States.

[1945–49: GLORIOUS YEARS OF PEACE]

WHEN MAC ARTHUR'S TROOPS FIRST LANDED ON the Japanese home islands in August of 1945, they faced a society whose factories and cities had been leveled but whose social fabric was still intact. Many Americans, in those first years of occupation, pushed for major reforms and wanted to destroy Japan's war-making potential, democratize its politics, purge its leadership, and break the power of the *Zaibatsu* (interlocking Japanese super-corporations). Indeed, several Amer-

by Tom Engelhardt and Jim Peck

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ican industries—notably textiles, ceramics, and rayon producers—pushed hard to weaken in advance their future Japanese competitors. And certainly, MacArthur's "peace constitution," outlawing war as a means of foreign policy and prohibiting the maintenance of an army, was a major event in this process.

Even during this period, though, strong currents were preparing Japan to move in another, quite different, direction. In the earliest days of the occupation, Major General Charles Willoughby (called "my loveable fascist" by MacArthur) succeeded in protecting two important groups within the defeated Japanese military from the purges then going on: an intelligence sector headed by Lt. General Arisue Seizo (in charge of intelligence operations concerning the Soviet Union), and another group under Colonel Hattori Takushiro (Tojo's former secretary). Hattori and his group were put in charge of the "demobilization boards," building up files on the entire Japanese army and navy. Often they found jobs for their old colleagues in the reorganized "police force." As a sideline, these officers are said to have served American intelligence by spying on Japan's blossoming labor movement and the growing left-wing forces.

By late 1947 and early 1948, growing numbers of officials (both in Washington and Japan) were thinking about Japan's military/strategic importance in Asia. Fearing the leftward turn of the Japanese workers ("subversion") and the rise of a Communist China aligned with Russia, they came to regret the "peace constitution." As George Kennan and his Policy Planning Staff wrote at that time: "Japan, as we saw it, was more important than China as a potential factor in world-political developments. It was . . . the sole great potential military-industrial arsenal of the Far East." Increasingly, these Americans thought of Japan as the "eastern anchor" of a world-wide American line of defense against the Soviet Union.

In March 1949, MacArthur himself announced: "Now the Pacific has become an Anglo-Saxon lake and our line of defense runs through the chain of islands fringing the coast of Asia. It starts from the Philippines and continues through the Ryukyu archipelago which includes its broad main bastion, Okinawa. Then it bends back through Japan and the Aleutian island chain to Alaska." The old idea of an unarmed, neutralized Japan was dropped like a burning coal. In only four years, Japan, "the Switzerland of the Far East", had become Japan, "the workshop of Asia."

Paralleling this change in American strategic thinking went the new notion of Japan as the "industrial lynch-pin" of America's economic policy in the Pacific. Japanese capitalism was to be rebuilt and co-ordinated with America's Pacific empire. Japan's economy was to be isolated from socialist Asia, particularly Mainland China, while being closely interwoven with the American dominated "Free World." Already, in the late 1940s, Japan was being tailored for its role of a decade later as purchaser of raw materials, supplier of capital and technology to the faltering, reactionary regimes of Southeast Asia.

At the same time, Japan was to become economically self-sufficient, taking the financial burden off the United States. In fact, during this period Japanese currency was not even internationally convertible; and during the entire period of the occupation (up through 1952), the US provided nearly two-thirds of Japan's imports, taking less than a quarter of her exports in return.

Zaibatsu dissolution was abandoned well short of initial goals. Few businessmen were purged; the trade unions were to be brought under control. Ceilings hitherto placed on production levels in certain strategic industries were entirely removed. As historian John Dower has written: "What had been officially identified as 'Japanese Industrial War Potential' in the early stages of the occupation . . . now passed through the rhetorician's steam room and emerged benignly as Japan's 'peaceful industries'."

EVEN BEFORE THE KOREAN WAR, which erupted on June 25, 1950, Japan's alternatives were narrow indeed: an indefinite American occupation; a completely re-armed Japan in alliance with the West against China and Russia; or a partially re-armed Japan in which the US continued to maintain its military bases. The Korean War only sealed the bargain on the third of these alternatives. Japan became the major base for American operations, both against Korea and for intervention in the Taiwan Strait.

The War, and the rapid funneling of American occupation forces into the Korean Peninsula, gave American and Japanese leaders their first opportunity to breach the anti-war clause of the peace constitution. To protect American bases and insure Japan's "internal stability," MacArthur authorized the creation of a 75,000-man National Police Reserve (NPR). This clearly violated Article 9 of the Japanese constitution which stated that "land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained." Nothing was called by its own name; but despite the busy wordsmiths of the occupation, training in "specialized vehicles" still meant learning such essential "police" instruments as carbines, M-1 rifles, machine guns, mortars, bazookas and tanks. Hundreds of former imperial officers were given jobs in this para-military force. By 1954, the NPR had evolved into the Self-Defense Force. In 1952, a navy had been started and at about the same time a baby air force was born. The authorized 15,000 men of 1950 had risen to 152,000 by 1954, and 214,000 by 1956.

The Korean War was both the culmination of the American "reverse course" in Japan and a take-off base for rapidly developing Japanese capitalism. Japan's economy was fed with between $4 to $6 billion in "special procurements" for the Korean conflict. By early 1951, a "new" Japan had clearly emerged—as much as 70 percent of its capacity directly engaged in meeting the needs of the American military.

Despite continuous American efforts in the 1950s, the Japanese were hesitant to push ahead too quickly with their own defense expenditures. Instead, they used American spending as capital to restore a host of Japanese industries. And already by the mid-1950s, this growing strength of the Japanese economy was worrying some American businessmen. It was not just the competitiveness but the potential independence of the Japanese economy which seemed so dangerous to them. For one of the most remarkable achievements of the Japanese during the entire occupation period

Illustration of "Hirohito and Nixon as Sumo Wrestlers" by Peter Marks

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was their ability to keep the doors shut on any large-scale American investment capital. General MacArthur himself had supported such a policy. He saw to it that Japan's economy was protected, unlike Europe's, against the designs of large-scale foreign ownership (with such major exceptions as oil and aluminum).

After formal sovereignty came in 1952, large amounts of Japanese resources were devoted to the purchase of American technology. The Japanese then took the technology, built their own plants, and refused to let Americans bring in their own staffs to operate this technology to the advantage of the United States. The close coordination of government and business is evident here. The influx of foreign capital was clearly limited by MITI, the powerful Ministry of International Trade, and by the Ministry of Finance.

Yet throughout these years of Japanese economic growth, American officials remained unconcerned. Secretary of State Dulles was primarily preoccupied with expanding Japan's strategic and military role in Asia. However, his efforts in early 1955 to enlarge Japan's sphere of interest from Japan proper to the "Western Pacific" was undermined by strong popular protests in Japan and opposition from key Japanese business leaders. Only in 1960, when Prime Minister Kishi supervised the US-Japanese security treaty through the Diet against massive popular opposition, did Japanese officials hesitantly begin to speak of Japanese military activities in reference to the "Far East."

The early 1960s—the Reischauer years—were a time of "dialogue" between an increasingly resurgent Japan and a US more and more preoccupied with Asia. In retrospect, it was an idyllic period for the leaders of both countries. Japan was slowly eased into an ever-increasing economic role in Asia; its gradually growing military demands being met by its burgeoning industrial base. Its political life became more "mature" as the Japanese left suffered serious reverses in the early 1960s. These were the years in which US businessmen began to speak of a "Pacific Rim Strategy," and to seek greater economic coordination with the Japanese. Here was the senior-junior "partnership" which (they hoped) would guarantee the security of Asia.

[1965: TOWARDS THE WHIRLWIND]

THIS GRADUAL MATURATION OF THE Japanese-American alliance was brutally shattered in 1965 by America's deteriorating position in Southeast Asia. With America committing all available resources to the Vietnam war, Japan was pushed, and pushed hard, to take a more active role in the rest of Asia. President Johnson, agreeing to discuss the return of Okinawa, forced an ultra-rapid speed-up in Japanese-South Korean "normalization" talks which had limped along for 13 years. When Sukarno lost power following a bloody coup in September 1965, Tokyo moved swiftly into action to coordinate the "rehabilitation" of the Indonesian economy. Events like these thrust imperial responsibilities on the Japanese ruling class far more quickly than had been anticipated.

In the years from 1965–1969, the Americans sought to push Japan in three areas: first, greater Japanese defense spending; second, closer economic (and later military) involvement in Southeast and North Asia; third, "liberalization" of the Japanese economic system.

Ever since the late 1940s, Western writers (even those who were urging it on) have consistently underestimated the speed of Japan's military growth. They always point out that the Japanese defense expenditure remains under 1 percent of the GNP compared to 7 percent for the US. This is as misleading as the statement that Japan has only the world's seventh strongest armed force; for Japan has concentrated not on men, but on machines. It has thrown much of its efforts into two key services: The Navy and the Air Force, in which it possesses a vast technological superiority over all its neighbors (except the Soviet Union).

Like Germany between the two world wars, Japan has kept its "defense forces" small, but heavily over-officered, so that on very short notice they could be expanded to three or four t mes their present size. At a time when the US defense budget faces a severe crisis because so much of it goes to manpower costs (52 percent of the present budget and an estimated 60 percent of the 1974 budget), the Japanese have emphasized a potent, but highly rational, defense posture. Only 7.5 percent of the 1971 Japanese defense budget goes to manpower.

Thus, despite the less than 1 percent allocated to the services since 1965, defense expenditures have been skyrocketing. The 1970 budget gave $1.6 billion to defense, a 17.7 percent rise over 1969. (Often, what in the United States would be considered defense expenditures for research and development do not even show up in official charts. Instead they are channelled through "private" industry.) Some observers have concluded that the Japanese could not rationally spend even 2 percent of their GNP on defense unless it were for an ambitious nuclear weapons system.

Japan has a greater self-sufficiency in munitions manufacture than any Western power other than the US. By late 1969, Japan produced 97 percent of its own ammunition, and 84 percent of its aircraft, guns, naval equipment, tanks, and other military equipment. Its nuclear technology is easily capable of producing nuclear weapons. Its space technology and missile capabilities are already potent. (In 1969, Japan became the fourth nation in the world to lift a satellite into space.)

American defense expenditures in Japan played a significant role both in fueling this development and in creating an increasingly influential industrial complex lobbying for higher defense expenditure. Between 1951 and 1960, the US spent an average $600 million annually on military procurements in Japan. Even in 1957–58, long after the Korean War, these dollars were sufficient to pay for some 14 percent of Japan's imports.

During this period, the Mitsubishi group, and especially Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, came to play an increasingly dominant role in Defense Agency contracting. By 1968, Mitsubishi Heavy Industry and Mitsubishi Electric already had a total of 33 percent of defense contract expenditures. By 1969, it was 45 percent. Today, it gets over 50 percent. By comparison the largest Pentagon contractor, Lockheed, gets only about 4.5 percent of the orders.

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"We don't make any money out of it," explains Makita Yoichiro, President of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries. "We wouldn't dream of making money out of it." Only a small part of Mitsubishi's profits do come from defense contracts, but Mitsubishi, by its heavy investment in armaments and its contentment with minimal profits, has gained a wealth of technical experience, and a web of governmental contacts. It has cornered a field which has nowhere to go but sky-high.

From 1965 on, Mitsubishi and similar *Zaibatsu,* along with government counterparts, have been more than happy to pursue their objectives under the aegis of American designs for Japan. However, they had their own ideas about where those designs would lead. As Fujino Chujiro, president of Mitsubishi Trading Company, laid it out early in this period:

> "Europe has its EEC. America is sufficient within itself. We coloured peoples who have become the world's problem people must even now unite our strength. I believe the old East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere was essentially right. The only trouble is that Japan looked only to its own advantage and resentment of this persists still. From now on we must meet a new age by changing our thinking both about giving aid and about being aided."

Before 1965, Japan had begun to expand, with US help, into Southeast Asia—but very slowly. One reason for the slowness of the pace was the deep anti-Japanese sentiment in the area. The Japanese knew that they were treading on unsure ground.

In the 1950s, "reparations" payments provided an opening for Japanese business. In the 1960s, this was followed up by Japanese aid and loan programs. ("Although Japan furnishes loans," said Tunku Abdul Rahman, former Malaysian Prime Minister, "it takes back with its other hand, as if by magic, almost twice the amount it provides.")

After 1965, all this was speeded up. Yet, as late as 1968, Japan still only had just over half as much capital invested in the region as it did in Latin America—14 percent and 26 percent of its total overseas investment, respectively. From 1968 to 1969, however, the Southeast Asian share of Japanese investment dramatically increased from 14 percent to 31.5 percent.

Indonesia provides perhaps the best example of the complementary roles American planners hoped Japan and the United States would play in the area. Soon after President Sukarno lost his power in 1965 amidst bloody massacres (by a military officer corps predominantly trained by the Japanese), it was Japanese capital which moved in to shore up the reactionary Suharto regime. From 1967 on, both Japan and the US have become deeply involved in providing capital for the Suharto group. US capital has grabbed the most promising oil areas, rubber, copper and bauxite mines. Japan, for its part, has lumber, fishing, nickel, and a few oil leases. Japan's role is clearly secondary. It dominates neither the key raw materials nor the arms supplies going to the Indonesian military. Japan's area of activity is in manufacturing, transportation, communications, electrical power and in funding the regime itself.

ALL ACROSS SOUTHEAST ASIA, Japan has moved in to prop up faltering pro-American regimes. It has even made its presence felt in Indochina (despite the overwhelming opposition to the war among the Japanese people). It participated in various groups seeking to underwrite the Laotian and the Cambodian currencies. In Vietnam itself, in the absence of overall figures, the number of new Japanese commitments reflects the influx of Japanese capital along lines similar to those in Indonesia, the opening of yen credits for infrastructure items: a Saigon power plant ($4.5 million); the Gan Tho thermal power house ($8 million), the Phan Rang irrigation project $9 million), the Saigon telephone and waterworks improvement scheme still under consideration ($6 million).

The US has used the Asian Development Bank partly to give Japanese capital a more sweeping role in the area. Its purpose was to systematize the US-Japanese investment partnership. But Japan has done increasingly well on its own. Japan is now the number 1 investor in Thailand, number 2 in Hongkong, increasingly dominant in Malaysia, and moving into first place in South Korea and Taiwan. Japanese trading companies, writes "think tanker" Herman Kahn, will probably "tie the entire area together into what would be basically one economic unit." And Pacific Asia, Kahn cheerfully continues, can provide more than just the raw materials and cheap skilled labor for the "labor intensive portion of the Japanese production cycle." It is just the spot "for those activities which result in excessive pollution or other undesirable byproducts for a highly advanced and concentrated nation." No wonder Kahn concludes that Japan's relationship "may turn out to be something like the position of the US in South America."

Since 1965, Japanese economic, military, and political planning has been more and more involved with the regimes of North Asia. Both Korea and Taiwan (as they did from 1895–1945) have come to play a crucial part in Japanese strategic thinking at the highest levels.

In 1965, a $150 million "yen loan" signalled the entrance of large-scale Japanese capital onto Taiwan. Between 1952 and 1970, total Japanese investment there amounted to around $90 million, but fully $80 million has come within the post-1965 period. A second "yen-loan" of $250 to $300 million, apparently agreed to by Sato in 1970, has been held in abeyance only due to the strong "pro-Peking" moderates in the Liberal Democratic Party. In addition, at least half of Taiwan's total foreign trade, amounting to $3 billion, now passes through the hands of the big Japanese commercial interests—primarily Mitsui and Mitsubishi.

While an increase in loans signified Japan's post-1965 push into Taiwan, a "normalization" of relations signalled the beginning of the positive inroads of Japanese capital in South Korea. In 1965, Japan pumped into the South Korean economy $300 million in goods and services ("gratis"), a $200 million (yen-based) credit loan, and a further $300 million which was set aside for "loans" to Korean enterprises. Though today the US still leads Japan in total Korean investment, Japan has just outstripped the US in investments in the first quarter of 1971; and in the Korean third Five-year plan, Japan is expected to invest $1 billion.

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[1969–1971: FROM CO-OPERATION TO COMPETITION]

By 1969, AMERICAN PLANNERS HAD gotten from Japan pretty much what they wanted—with one exception. Japan was indeed inextricably involved, economically and even militarily, with the most reactionary regimes of Asia; but her economy, independent and growing, was posing a serious challenge to the US. Without the basic intermeshing of the US and Japanese economies through the American "multi-national" corporations, Japan was bound to go its own way, to demand more than America was willing to give up. And so she has.

In 1969, however, public attention was still focused on the military dimension of Japan's role in Asia, where there remained significant compatibility between the two countries. The Okinawa reversion agreement of that year marked Japan's intention of seeking an "equal" military partnership with the US not globally, but in Asia. "Regarding Asian security," Premier Sato said in 1969, "it is Japan that is gradually to play the leading role, while the United States will be cooperating from the sidelines. . . . We should now strive to really stand on our feet. We will have to view the problem of our security much more from our own independent standpoint than before." And, in fact, during the last two years, US leaders pushed harder and harder for Japan to take over, not America's economic position, but America's military burden in Asia.

The 1970 Japanese White Paper on Defense lays out the revised terms Nixon and Sato agreed on in November 1969—and exposes Japan's expanding role in Asia. Japan's sphere of influence is extended to include South Korea. Her security is held "directly related to the security" of Taiwan. Even in the last year, Japan has intensified its military and economic ties with South Korea. It has established a naval and air repair network in Korea, manned by Japanese technicians, and begun an exchange of servicemen on training exercises. The entire leadership of the Japanese military has toured Korean facilities at least once this year.

Contingency plans for Japanese military action in Korea; the repair, maintenance, and exchange agreements between Seoul and Tokyo; various American and Japanese governmental statements, all suggest the breadth of Japanese involvement. William Bundy, as Assistant Secretary of State, stated that if "activity" broke out again on the 38th parallel, "this time the Japanese army goes." South Korea's Premier, Chong Il-kwon, stated at that time: "I believe that Japan, as a UN member, must, under the command of the UN headquarters in Korea, make an immediate response to any renewed communist aggression here." Here, then, is even a hint that Japan might use the UN as a cover in the '70s, the way the US did during the '50s and '60s.

The US has cont nued to pressure Japan for an increased buildup of conventional military forces. In July, Defense Secretary Laird visited both Japan and Korea. He and Sato agreed that Japan's defense equipment was "pitifully outdated" and must be "improved." American military officials warned that the increase in defense spending already planned is "inadequate" for Japan's responsibilities "inherent in a regional defense commitment." Reportedly Laird said Japan must take over some of the non-combat functions in Asia now discharged by the US seventh fleet, and he offered assistance in the 1980s for Japanese ABM facilities.

In 1971, American military and political leaders did not feel any important contradictions between Japan and the US at the military level. The US global role, symbolized by the American nuclear capacity, is still viewed as complementary to an increasing role for a conventionally armed Japan in Asia. Yet even at the nuclear level the relationship is growing uneasy. "In practice," Admiral Rickover recently complained, "the Japanese Government has imposed onerous, unnecessary, and unreasonable conditions" on the movements of US nuclear armed ships.

Even while American-Japanese military co-operation continues, however, the deepening anger among American economic leaders has burst to the surface. US official frustration with Japan was evident in Southeast Asia. Japan was making enormous profits by sending vast exports to Thailand, Indochina, Indonesia, the Philippines, etc., while buying only minimal imports in return. In this area alone, Japan's export surplus grew from $550 million in 1960 to over $2 billion in 1968. As American officials were well aware, such an imbalance was often met by these countries only through an infusion of US economic and military assistance. Japan's enormous trade profits, in short, were being paid for by US funds.

Vietnam provided an especially galling example of just this process. In 1967 alone, Japan, helping to create Saigon's "Honda economy," exported over $200 million in goods to Vietnam, against less than $3 million in imports. Such trade imbalances are certainly not likely to continue in their present form. However, Japanese officials are now speaking of creating "deliberately complementary productive capabilities"—economies subordinate to Japan's needs.

AMERICAN PIQUE OVER JAPAN'S economic aggressiveness in Southeast Asia is symbolic of a far broader economic conflict developing between Japan and the United States. At the heart of this conflict rests the fact that the Japanese economy is, in a host of areas, both more competitive than, and outside the control of, the US economy.

The textile issue which has been played up in the US press only shows the grim determination of the US to pressure Japan into line. On a global level, it is not a major area of economic concern to the US. It is, in fact, a national industry, with little capital abroad. To make it competitive on an international level would cost up to $5 billion. Under intense domestic pressure, Nixon is seeking merely to place a ceiling on Japanese textile imports at approximately their present level.

Yet while the ruckus over textiles shows the domestic power of American textile industries, the problem actually lies elsewhere. Increasingly, while Japan buys from the US primarily raw materials and food, the US is buying from Japan the products the American economy can no longer produce as competitively. Cars, for example (Toyota has the fastest growing sales in the US), or electronics (one out of every three TV sets bought in the US is Japanese) or

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aerospace products or steel. It has been estimated that for the US steel industry to regain its competitive edge with Japan, the Japanese would have to revalue their currency by a minimum of 35 percent.

In the last few years, the US response has been to try to make Japan liberalize its import policies and revalue the yen. Japan, though publicizing its "economic miracle," has nonetheless insisted that it was too "underdeveloped" to open its doors completely to foreign manufacturers and capital. Yet Japan's trade surplus has continued to soar ($5.4 billion this financial year; a projected $6.9 billion next year). "If you can't beat them, buy them," is at least part of the present American program against Japan. And the whole question of Okinawan reversion plays an important role in this maneuvering, highlighting both American desires to bring Japan under control and Japan's determination to achieve an "independent" stance in Asia.

Okinawa, taken at the cost of thousands of lives in the bloody battles of 1945, has been for two decades America's key support base in the Pacific. A vast network of air and naval bases, backed up by dependent service industries, the island is completely run by an American occupation army. Even the license plates on the cars—"Keystone to the Pacific"—proclaim Okinawa's significance in American military thinking.

For Japan, the return of Okinawa to Japanese control is a symbol of the end of the war, the end of the American occupation, the end of Japanese defeat, the end of dependency. "Without Okinawa back in our hands," Prime Minister Sato has stated, "the 'postwar history' of Japan will not end."

The Americans, while agreeing to the "reversion" of Okinawa, have made frantic efforts to retain for themselves an independent position on the island and a wedge for further entrance into Japan itself.

It is remarkable that a treaty initially viewed as a recognition of Japanese "equality" should actually be so unequal. Just how much sovereign power Japan will exercise over Okinawa is unclear. Sato had already agreed in 1969 that reversion would not "hinder the effective discharge of the international obligations assumed by the United States for the defense of countries in the Far East including Japan." Operations in Vietnam thus remain covered. But so, too, does the use of Okinawa's ports as service centers for the nuclear subs. In addition, the US will continue to operate a host of facilities on the island: the special intelligence training installations, Voice of America facilities, the SR-71 spy aircraft system. In May, Foreign Minister Kiichi Aichi announced that the US will remove all nuclear weapons before Okinawa returns to Japan. Laird responded that if the Japanese wished to remain under US nuclear protection, they should stop asking awkward questions about where nuclear weapons are stored or under what circumstances they might be used. However, Polaris and Poseidon submarines are now considered better suited to US strategic interests in the Western Pacific than land based nuclear facilities.

More important, American officials and businessmen chose to interpret the Okinawa reversion agreement as implying an exemption from normal restrictions for US capital already on Okinawa. Consequently, they are equipping Okinawa as an economic Trojan Horse. In 1965, US investments in Okinawa amounted to around $10 million; today, they have risen to a reported $250 million. American corporations like Gulf, Kaiser Cement, Esso and Caltex, are placing capital in Okinawa which will soon be able to operate without restrictions in Japanese markets.

BEHIND THIS INCREASED PUSH OF AMERICAN capital towards the Japanese domestic market lies a desire of America's "multi-national" corporations to make the Japanese economy far more intensely interdependent with the "world market"—i.e., US corporate planning and control. The Japanese government and its *Zaibatsu* allies have fought fiercely against this, because they know that the significant entry of America's corporate entities into Japanese industry will radically alter the operation of the Japanese economy and their control over it. As Robert Guillain, *Le Monde's* Japan correspondent explains: "They fear that American directors or co-directors will refuse to play the game as it is understood in the Japanese business world . . . that the delicate cooperation between administration and business will not work with them and that they may not be amenable enough to follow voluntarily the guidance of the government planners. They feel that there will be . . . completely new kinds of conflict within the firms, in which the whole traditional structure—methods of hiring, promotion, wages—will be turned upside down."

Japanese manufacturers have long followed the tactic of forming export cartels. The powerful Ministry of Trade and Industry (MITI) officially sanctions and protects such cartels, causing US businessmen to refer to the whole economy as "Japan, Inc." By getting together, *Zaibatsu* who might compete within Japan cooperate to gain exports. Last year, for instance, seven trading companies banded together with 3 Japanese steelmakers to obtain orders for $100 million worth of pipe for the Trans-Alaska pipeline. A Sumitomo Trading Co. official candidly explained the rationale of cooperation: "If we compete against each other overseas, it's no use; some foreign company may get the job. We have to present a joint front against the overseas competitors." The impact of American capital could easily disrupt such operations, forcing key decisions to be made outside Japan. In a sense, Japan's giant *Zaibatsu* are their own multi-national corporations—capable of providing a host of services and rationally able to coordinate their commitments. That is why they pose such a challenge to the US.

Naturally enough, actual US investment in Japan is relatively low—just over 1 percent of total US overseas investment. Moreover, in most sectors of the economy, foreign investors control only around 5 percent of the market. There are exceptions. Prior to 1964, Tokyo allowed foreign firms to set up yen-based companies (companies financed from abroad but unable to send profits home). Among those who took advantage of this was IBM, which now controls about 70 percent of Japan's computer market through a wholly owned subsidiary. Major oil interests, Coca Cola, Pepsi Cola, and the aluminum industry, among others, took advantage of the agreement.

Another type of American capital penetration in recent

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years has taken place in the Japanese car industry. Throughout the 1960s competition within Japan was intense. Now only the best of a dozen Japanese companies remain powerful: Toyota and Nissan (Datsun). Detroit's response has been to buy into the smaller and rather vulnerable Japanese firms. Thus Chrysler bought into Mitsubishi Motors; GM holds 34 percent of Isuzu; and Ford is trying to purchase 20 percent of Toyo Kogyo (owner of the rotary engine Mazda). However, Japanese industry has so far successfully fought off US attempts to gain entrance into the more powerful car firms. As one disgusted American businessman remarked, "By the time the Japanese government liberalizes foreign investment in the automobile industry, it will probably break it down into the sparkplug industry, the left fender industry, etc."

Though Japanese industries are generally fighting hard (with the help of their government) against loss of control, the picture is confusing. Japanese policy is in disarray as the government, economic organizations, and industrial associations haggle over details of the new policy. Facing the gathering coercive force of the US economy, the question is only one of how much to give in, and on what interests. Certainly, this has caused an unpleasant scramble in the Japanese business community, each industry looking out for itself.

OF ALL AREAS OF POTENTIAL FUTURE CONFLICT, Japan is most vulnerable in the area of oil. Japan's need for oil has risen at a rate more rapid, perhaps, than that of any other country in the world. As late as 1955, Japan used only about 10 million tons of oil per year. Today, it consumes 180 million tons per year. By 1980, it is estimated, Japan's needs will be in the vicinity of 750 million tons.

Japan produces, domestically, less than one million tons—a figure which has remained stable for a long time. Ninety-nine percent of its requirements in oil must come from abroad, must come in fact almost wholly from sources controlled by the US (or other Western countries). About 85 percent of this oil does not even come from Asia, but from the Middle East, by a tortuous route through the Malacca Straits.

Not only are the Japanese dependent on American sources for their oil, but their domestic oil industry (including refining in which Japan is second in capacity in the non-socialist world)is one of those most penetrated by American capital. It was an industry which the large international corporations (particularly Shell and Standard Oil Esso) were able to sit on almost from the beginning of the American occupation. Today, the biggest Japanese oil companies have only 50 percent Japanese ownership, and, though their presidents are always Japanese, vice-presidents, chief directors and other high officials are often foreigners.

What, of course, upsets the Japanese ruling class the most is that, unlike almost all other products it imports, for oil it must rely so heavily on one nation. Though theoretically the Soviet Union is an alternate source of oil, up to now political factors have prevented Japan from accepting anything but miniscule amounts of oil from there.

Since 1965, Japanese companies have been prospecting for oil; and since 1967, there has been an active government/private corporation, the Japan Petroleum Development Corporation (Japex), set up solely to try to find alternate sources. In fact in the last few years newly formed Japanese companies and consortia have been involved in a frantic search for new oil fields and new oil concessions. Alaska, Indonesia, Sumatra, Iran's Lucrastan oil fields, Western Australia, New Guinea, the coastal shelf off Vietnam, and recently even in Japan's own backyard, the waters around the Tiao Yu-tai (Senkaku) Islands where there are overlapping claims by Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China. The Japan-Taiwan dispute which developed over these tiny islands led a Japanese naval vessel to remove a Chinese Nationalist flag from the islands. As for other claims, including Peking's, former foreign Minister Kiichi Aichi said: "Without doubt the Senkakus are Japan's and there is no reason why Japan should negotiate with any foreign country on the matter."

But, despite the desperation of Japan's moves, the results have been disappointing. As sociologist Franz Schurmann has explained: "American companies have the capital and the drilling technology to dominate the oil market: Japan, for all its spectacular advances, lags badly behind. Thus if the present trend continues, Japan will find itself in a situation similar to 1940, where virtually all its oil sources were in unfriendly hands, chiefly American, British, and Dutch. Then it needed oil for its war machine. Today it needs oil for its booming economy. But the dependence is the same: the most vital energy source for any advanced industrial nation is oil and will remain so for a long time, and those sources for Japan are now and will be in foreign hands, this time overwhelmingly American."

Given its dependence on the US trade relationship, its need for US-controlled oil, and the usefulness of US support in its military expansion, Japan is not likely to soon junk its alliance with the United States. Despite its anger over present US policy, the US still offers Japan a powerful global ally.

There are, as well, strong domestic factors reinforcing this Japanese ruling class in its alliance with America. Popular sentiment is still strongly opposed to nuclear armament, and a rapid government move in this direction would cause "avoidable conflicts."

It is a fear of Japanese right-wing militarism, not Japan's military role, that concerns Washington. A "high administrative official," widely quoted in the Japanese press to be Nixon, said that the security pact is partly designed to "police" Japan against the revival of "militarism."

The violence of leftist student protests in the 1960s tended to obscure the increasing power of the right wing. "More rightist organizations are active in Japan today than there were during World War II—and they have triggered off more incidents than their prewar counterparts," reports the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Rightist forces form a hard core which offers indispensable support to Japan's political and economic establishment. They threaten the left whose strength has dwindled under relentless official pressure. Security measures are tighter, government intervention in education (directed at regimentation of the system) more direct—even extending to a steady removal

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from textbooks of reference to World War II. On the left, only the relatively "moderate" Japanese Communist Party, whose membership increased to 300,000, has grown in recent years. The right, on the other hand, can muster the support of nearly 3 million people—with strong representation in the Liberal Democratic Party, business, journalism, the arts, religion, science, education, and the judiciary.

The whole rightist mystique was brought to the fore in a blaze of publicity in late 1970 when novelist Yukio Mishima (in strict observance of the traditional Bushido ritual) committed suicide. On a more popular level, the glorification of violence is good film box office today. Films glorifying *yakuza* (gangster) figures are sure-fire money makers for all audiences; so too are those lauding the virtue and violence of the samurai.

[THE CHINESE QUESTION]

As for the immediate future of the Sato government, its main worry is the increasing disenchantment of the business community and the LDP itself. Japan's political parties, as Robert Guillain noted, "are in fact leaders with no following, a high command that has no rank and file." Their funds come from the businessmen and industrial managers, who (together with their allies in the bureaucracy), run the country. And it is these business interests who have been uneasy about the American and *Chinese* response to Japan's growing power.

It was, however, the announcement of Nixon's trip to China which put the kiss of death on the Sato government, for the possible long-term "loss" of the China market is a divisive issue among Japan's business leaders. And the Chinese, for their part, have been emphasizing the growing contradictions between the Americans and the Japanese. The *People's Daily* succinctly states the current Chinese view: "Japanese militarism wants to make a comeback by relying on US imperialism, whereas the latter strives to tighten its control over Japan economically, politically, and militarily, fastening her firmly to its war chariot. US imperialism has no wish to see an independent, prosperous and strong Japan in Asia. While calling Japan a 'close partner', it is actually ready to betray her at any time." The Chinese are now trying to explore the nature of these contradictions between Japan and various countries of Southeast Asia, and between Japan and the US itself.

In April 1970, Chou En-lai emphasized some of these areas of potential conflict when he set forth "four principles" governing Peking's future trade with Japan. There would be no deals with firms actively involved in South Korea, in Taiwan, collaborating with the US in Vietnam, or involved in joint ventures with American firms. In July and August 1970, a considerable number of companies were excluded from the China trade. They included dummy corporations set up specifically for the China trade by the four major trading companies—Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Marubeni, and Itoh. Forty other companies which had participated in the 15th meeting of the Japan-Republic of China Co-operation Committee received the same treatment—including New Japan Steel, Japan Air Lines, Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Sumitomo Chemicals. Others, like Asahi-Dow, were excluded as joint US-Japanese companies.

The response among Japanese businessmen has been surprising, though not conclusive. Some, like those in chemical fertilizer production, who already ship some 60 percent of Japan's production to China, immediately ceased sales to Taiwan. Others have simply shifted policy—fearful that they will have no access in the long run to China. Five of the six Japanese shipping lines serving Taiwan have suspended service. Japan Air Lines cancelled its service to Taiwan. Japan's two largest banks, Mitsubishi and Fuji, agreed last September to accept the Chinese principles. A remarkable volte-face was made when Shigeo Nagano, head of Japan's Chamber of Commerce, and chairman of Nippon Steel which had close links with both Taiwan and South Korea, said recently that his company would now faithfully follow Chou's "four principles."

There are certainly strong limits to China's leverage on the Japanese business community. One is simply the size of the China market. China's trade in 1970 was just over $4 billion, and, though it is likely to grow, its appeal still lies in its long-range prospects, not its present reality. In addition, vested interests in Taiwan and South Korea, particularly the latter, are not going to shift. Mitsubishi especially has sunk vast sums into these areas.

A division of functions among Japanese firms is one immediate answer to the present difficulties. Yet pressure is building for a change of policy, while not on Korea, at least on Taiwan. Last September, former defense head Yasuhiro Nakasone was the was the first top LDP official to state that the Peking government was China's legitimate government, that Taiwan belonged to China, and that it was time Japan came to terms with these facts. "It is absolutely impermissible," Nakasone told a chamber of commerce meeting, "for us to harbor ambitions of taking Taiwan back, or advocating its independence, or reasserting Japanese economic control." Japanese reaction to Sato's almost pathetic decision to support Taiwan in the UN has been savage and bitter even within the ruling LDP.

Today, Japanese business leaders are scrambling to reassess their position on China and their economic relations with the United States. Taiwan may be the price they are willing to pay. That, at least, is the Chinese hope. What is at stake is not Taiwan, however, but the political and economic direction of Asia. Japan wants its economic links with the US to remain profitable, as they are today. She wants to be able to export her goods without the threats of US protectionism. But Japan does not want her economy opened to US capital. Nor, as Chou's principles of trade make clear, does China.

All that is clear in Japan today is that Japanese leaders, angry and confused, are beginning an arduous reassessment of their global relations. "We are not 'war criminals' now," complained the director of Mitsui,"but 'export criminals'."

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JACKIE AND ARI AND TOM AND GEORGE AND SPIRO AND . . .

In 1947, in the name of democracy and the Truman Doctrine, the United States took over the tutelage of Greece from the British. Now the US sponsors an open dictatorship which has banned Euripides and Tchaikovsky, supervised the anti-semitic indoctrination of the Army and the torture prisons of Dionysius Camp, Bouboulina Street and Piraeus Asphasia. But from 1947 till today, American stakes in Greece—strategic access to Middle Eastern oil—have remained the center of US policy. Secret transcripts made available to RAMPARTS *of conversations between Robert S. McNamara and the Greek Minister of Defense help make this plain.*

Grave charges by Andreas Papandreou, former Greek Minister of Co-ordination, made in a six-hour interview with RAMPARTS *have similarly highlighted the influential roles played in Greece by Aristotle Onassis and Thomas Pappas. Papandreou charges both men with using their vast wealth to bribe the Center Union Party in an attempt to gain control of key Greek industries: in the case of Onassis, Olympic Airways; in Pappas' case, Esso-Pappas. Costa Gratsos, American spokesman for Onassis, asserts that Papandreou's charges are a "tissue of lies." John Pappas has made similar sweeping denials on behalf of his brother. Essentially it is Papandreou's word against those of Pappas and Onassis. They will have to be judged against the evidence and against the trajectory of the careers of all three men which are here described.*—THE EDITORS.

THE DRAMA OF CAMELOT, that sentimental comedy of American liberalism, made its final command performance in October 1968 when lawyers representing Jacqueline Kennedy and Aristotle Onassis met in summit to negotiate a 170 clause marriage contract. Among conditions stipulated were the following: If Onassis leaves Jackie, she will get $10 million for each year of marriage; if she leaves him, but remains married for five years before doing so, she will get $18.75 million; Jackie will receive $625,000 yearly for her "personal comfort," $10,000 monthly for clothes, $7500 for cosmetics, $6250 for a personal bodyguard; for the duration of the marriage, she will spend all Catholic holy days and summer vacations with her husband.

Given Onassis' background in the tanker business, it's not surprising that his marriage resembles a conventional time charter agreement in which the use of a ship is granted for varying periods at fluctuating rates. As a matter of course, maintenance and miscellaneous costs are strictly specified. In fact, if the contract was a stark and poignant symbol at all, it is because it represents the terms under which American ideals are to be mortgaged to the Greek dictatorship,

by Robert Fitch

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brokered away by such notable Panders as Spiro Agnew, Richard Nixon and Thomas Pappas. If the steps which led Mrs. Onassis from Camelot to her berth on the good yacht Christina seem to parallel the movement of historical events making up America's Cold War relationship to Greece, it is because both cases share the same unstable combination of apparent idealism and suppressed greed. And, again, in both cases what lubricates the connection is, to put the matter bluntly but fairly—oil.

[ARISTOTLE'S POLITICS]

LONG BEFORE BLOCKADING CAMELOT, Aristotle Onassis amassed his estimated $500 to $1000 million chiefly by transporting oil for the huge companies making up the international oil cartel. Onassis is international to his toes and in many essential respects about as Greek as a McDonald's Big Mac.

Born in Smyrna, Turkey in 1906, Onassis spent much of his adult life in Argentina. With the onset of World War II, after extensive dealing with the Japanese, Onassis decided to throw in his lot and his ships with the allies. Unlike most Greek shipowners who chose London or New York City for their base of operations, Onassis settled in Hollywood, where he developed contacts with fellow shipowner and 20th Century Fox movie mogul Spyros Skouras. On his frequent flights to the East Coast he befriended Tom Pappas who was just beginning to move up in the world of ethnic politics and business. Just whose side Onassis was on was something of a puzzle. J. Edgar Hoover was troubled enough by rumors of Onassis' pro-Nazi biases to write a special letter to Rear Admiral Emory S. Land, then head of the War Shipping Administration.

However, Onassis' true loyalty was ultimately to himself. "As a Greek," he once said, "I belong to the West. As a shipowner, I belong to capitalism. Business objectives dictate the details of my operations. My favorite country is the one that grants the maximum immunity from taxes, trade restrictions and unreasonable regulation. It is under that country's flag that I prefer to concentrate my profitable activities. I call this business sense." No doubt if tanker rates along the river Styx began to soar, Onassis would be there ready with his fleet. And as far as belonging "to the West," his recent negotiations with the Soviet Union cloud even that claim.

LIKE HIS FELLOW GREEK SHIPOWNER and arch-rival Stavros Niarchos, Onassis really broke into the big money ranks by ripping off surplus vessels from the US merchant marine fleet after World War II. His small fleet passed unscathed through the war (except for the two ships he sold the Japanese which had been sunk by the United States), and he was anxious to enlarge it by purchasing US surplus transports. The only hitch lay in Onassis' Greek citizenship which, according to the Shipping Act of 1916, prevented him from buying US vessels. To evade the intent of the law, Onassis formed the United States Petroleum Carriers, Inc., in which he held only 49 percent of the stock. The rest was held by American citizens, whom Onassis designated. Onassis was able to acquire 23 surplus vessels, through this corporate device, plus the help of the so-called Casey group which cleared Onassis' way through numerous bureaucratic hurdles. It was a highly potent assemblage of Democratic Party politicos and military brass wise in the ways of government. It included former Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius; former Assistant Secretary of State Julius C. Holmes, Congressman Joseph E. Casey, a Massachusetts Democrat, and Fleet Admiral William F. (Bull) Halsey, the only member of the group not involved in subsequent criminal indictments.

With his newly acquired fleet, he was able to deal with the international oil companies from a position of strentgh. And from the US government, he got lucrative contracts to transport surplus coal to war-devastated France and Germany. His reputation for ruthless reliability, efficiency and harsh exploitation of seamen earned him the backing of the First National City Bank of New York, which altered its traditional policy enjoining loans to Greek shipowners and began to finance Onassis' oil tanker construction program.

Soon Onassis had a tanker fleet nearly as large as that of his father-in-law, Stavros G. Livanos. Onassis almost over-reached himself however in 1954 when he and Hjalmar Schacht (Hitler's former Finance Minister who beat the rap at Nürnberg) teamed up to try an end run around ARAMCO in Saudi Arabia (ARAMCO stands for Arabian-American Oil Company, a consortium owned 30 percent by Jersey Standard; 30 percent by Cal Standard; 30 percent by Texaco; and 10 percent by Mobil.) Onassis and Schacht wanted to deal directly with King Saud and monopolize the shipment of ARAMCO's crude. The deal was made, and Onassis prepared to rake in the profits. But he had miscalculated. Onassis may have had tanker power, but the consortium had state power.

While the deal with King Saud was still in the pipeline, the US Justice Department had drawn up some indictments against Onassis and held them at the ready in its own pipeline. On January 20, 1954, Onassis announced the agreement with King Saud. As Onassis himself admits, when ARAMCO executives read the agreement, "all hell broke loose." A few days later, Ari of Arabia was lunching at his favorite table in the bar of the Colony restaurant in New York City, where he was busted for buying American ships illegally. Perhaps it was merely a coincidence. Perhaps it was another coincidence that when Onassis agreed to give up his Saudi Arabian tanker rights, Warren Burger, the present law and order Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, then Assistant Attorney General handling the case, agreed to let Onassis off.

Another intriguing feature of the case is the behavior of Herbert Brownell, the New York attorney and top Republican money-thrower, who held the Attorney General's post. Brownell's law firm, Lord, Day & Lord, actually served as Onassis' attorney advising him on how to take over the surplus tankers after World War II without getting busted. As Attorney General, Brownell handed down the indictments. Following Onassis' agreement with ARAMCO, Brownell appeared to testify as a witness *for* Onassis in the Justice Department's own proceedings. It must mark the first time in US history that the Attorney General appeared for the defense in a case he himself was prosecuting.

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All this helps to illustrate the nature of Onassis' success which consists chiefly in knowing how to bend foreign banks, oil companies and legal systems to his purposes: it has had precious little to do with Greece. Almost none of the profits Onassis has made were recycled back into the underdeveloped Greek economy, which is still based on petty stuff like tobacco, currants and olives. Except for his villas at Glyfada and Skorpios, he never built a thing in his native country. Olympic Airways, his sole Greek investment, came to him practically as a gift from the right-wing Karamanlis government, proffered in the hope that ownership of the Greek flag carrier might cause Onassis to give a thought to his homeland when he made out his future investment plans.

At the time Onassis picked up Olympic Airways, it was purely a domestic carrier, restricted to the Greek peninsula itself. It owned landing rights in New York City, but Onassis was reluctant to exercise them immediately. To begin to compete with TWA and the non-scheds in the lucrative Atlantic tourist market required a lot of capital. At the very least, it meant buying some new jets and taking some heavy risks.

If the risks could be sifted out so that only the profits remained, Onassis was ready to do his bit for his country. In November 1964, he approached the liberal Center Union government with a deal. Andreas Papandreou was one of three Ministers involved in the negotiations. Onassis' proposal according to Andreas was the following: Ari would buy three Boeing 707's at a cost of $11 million. In return, the Greek government would guarantee him a minimum rate of return on his investment on the Athens-New York New York-Athens run. In addition, the government would kick out the non-scheduled carriers that offered cut-rate competition and would guarantee that there would be no strikes, and, finally, any time he deemed it advisable, Onassis could close down Olympic, after giving six months' notice.

"I said 'no'," Andreas Papandreou recalls, "My father said 'no,' too. He was tough." Onassis then made a rather measly $1 million offer as a "contribution" to the Center Union party, Andreas maintains. The offer infuriated George Papandreou. Onassis was ordered not to be allowed to come into George Papandreou's office.

For his own part, Andreas opposed the deal on strict economic terms. Greece needed foreign exchange. The tourists brought into Athens by the non-scheduled airlines brought in more dollars than Onassis could probably bring in by himself on Olympic, if the non-scheds were barred from landing in Athens. In July 1965, after King Constantine dismissed the Papandreou government, Onassis signed an agreement with a successor government along the lines he had proposed to the Center Union regime. Andreas Papandreou observed: "If they can't buy you, they have to kick you out."

[DER MÄCHSTIGTE GRIECHE]

JUST ABOUT THE TIME ARISTOTLE ONASSIS was building his post-World War II tanker fleet through the surplus ship caper in America, the US had proclaimed the Truman Doctrine in Greece. In order to prevent the establishment of a totalitarian red dictatorship, General Van Fleet was ordered to bring the blessings of American-style democracy to the Hellenes. An early draft of the Truman Doctrine, written by Clark Clifford, spoke of more pragmatic motives: the need to maintain strategic oil reserves in the Middle East and the weakening of the worldwide system of capitalist enterprise that would occur if the outcome of the purely local Greek civil war were allowed to be subjected to a test of strength. Dean Acheson, however, intervened at the last moment, and the Truman Doctrine emerged as a document of unalloyed idealism. Soon after Van Fleet's arrival as Truman's proconsul, he was implicated in a massive aid scandal: he had succeeded only too well in bringing US-style democracy to the Greeks. It was in this morally permissive atmosphere that Thomas Pappas' Greek enterprises were to flourish.

"This man is ten times Onassis," claims Elias Demetracopoulos, who is the author of a sixteen page memorandum on Pappas' activities requested by the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe. "Der mächtigste Grieche," as *Der Spiegel* calls him, was actually born "Thomas Papadopoulos" according to the respected German weekly, which estimates his influence to be even greater than his namesake, the "Putsch-Premier." In

Wide World Photos

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Greece Pappas counts above all as the man who brought the $166 million Esso refinery to Salonika over the opposition of the Center Union party and practically everyone else; as the advance man for Coca Cola, and as the man who has obtained monopoly rights to 19 industries in Greece. Testimony before the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the US Senate in 1968 has further revealed that the different Pappas interests ranked fifth (in total assets) in the basic metals industry, second and third in the petroleum and coal industry, and fifth in the chemicals industry. "The Pappas interests," according to the testimony, "account for fully 75 percent of the total United States private investment and 54 percent of actual capital exports to Greece." In the United States, Pappas figures as the individual most responsible, after Richard Nixon, for the eminence enjoyed by Spiro Agnew in American political life; and as Johnny-on-the-spot for the CIA when it needs a private foundation cover to channel funds to worthy CIA front groups like the "Society for African Culture" and the "International Development Fund."

The real source of Pappas' leverage is unquestionably his ability to raise funds for the Republican Party while brother John works the Democratic Party side of the street. To his White House and establishment friends, he is the man who can tap the funds of wealthy Greek Americans. As a member of the Republican National Finance Committee, Pappas is willing to visit the provinces and scare up cash from unlikely sources. "If Tom feels that there's a $5000 or $10,000 contribution to be collected—in Akron, Tucson or Seattle," a Massachusetts friend told the *Boston Globe*, "he doesn't think twice about hopping on a plane and picking it up in person. In fact, I think he prefers it that way." Altogether, through such wide-ranging efforts, Pappas has, according to Republican Party estimates, been able to raise over a million dollars for the cause.

As a top dollar giver, Pappas became a top patronage getter. Jobs that didn't look like much to outsiders helped to strengthen his power in the Massachusetts Greek community and in the shipping world. In 1932 he was appointed to the advisory board of the Massachusetts state immigration division, a position that enabled him to speed the importation of native Greeks for Greek Americans who sponsored them on a semi-indentured basis. In the 1940s, Governor Leverett Saltonstall appointed Pappas to the Port Authority, which regulated, among other things, Pappas' shipping and import-export business, headquartered at their Summer Street warehouse, near the waterfront.

Even before the Pappas brothers began to focus on Greece as their chief base of operations, Tom Pappas was involved in Greek trade, representing the Greek government as its Consul General in New England. It was only natural therefore that in 1952, a month after Eisenhower's victory, he was offered the Ambassadorship to Greece. Allegedly Pappas replied to the offer: "I am not seeking and do not want public office. I am a businessman. I am here on a commercial matter."

Pappas' controversial entry onto the Greek political scene took place during the 1963 elections when he emerged as the main issue. He and Premier Karamanlis concluded the now famous Esso-Pappas deal after what the

Col. George Papadopoulos and Thomas Pappas

House European Subcommittee document calls "unorthodox procedures." The agreement gave Pappas monopolistic control over large sectors of the Greek economy. And, although over $100 million was at stake along with Greece's relationship to the Common Market and the entire development strategy for the next decade, the deal was not submitted to the Greek Parliament for scrutiny or even formal discussion. Led by George Papandreou, the entire Center Union party based its campaign on the promise that, if elected, the new government would revise the Pappas agreement, which would become known as "the colonial treaty."

When the Center Union Party came to power, it kept its electorial promise. Together with George Mavros, a right-wing member of the Center Union Party, Andreas Papandreou handled the renegotiation of the Esso-Pappas deal. "We did a good job," Andreas says, "we brought in a foreign consulting firm, L. Manderstam and Partners to investigate the agreement. The trouble with the deal, they discovered, wasn't just that Pappas had greatly inflated the price of crude oil that he'd agreed to import: that was way beyond proper levels. He'd also gotten to monopolize a

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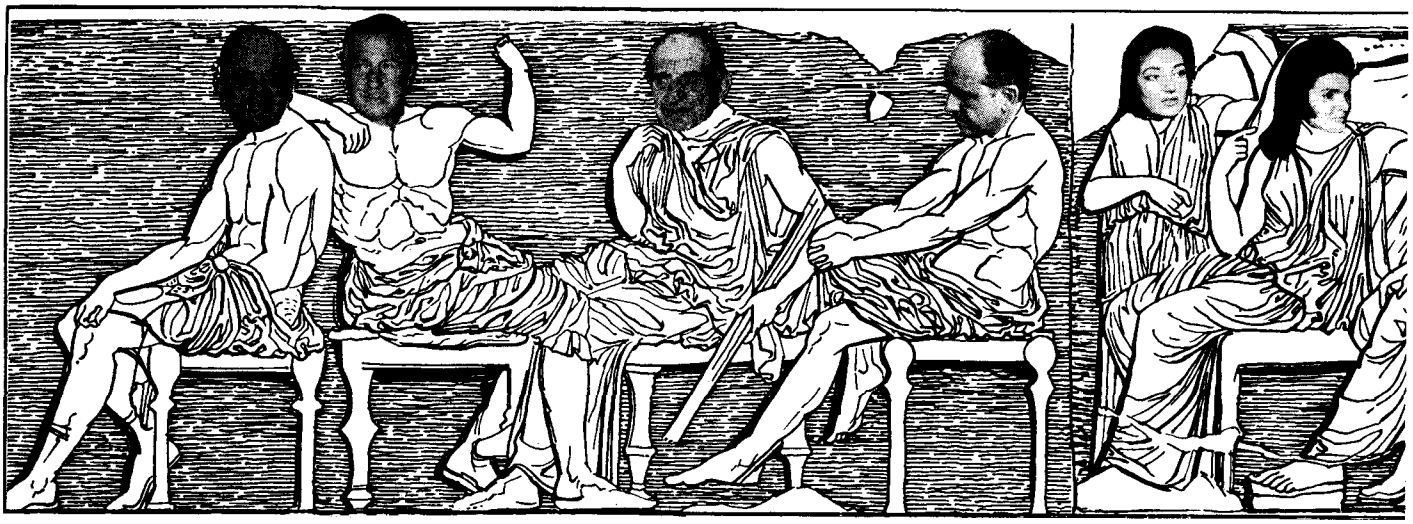

George Papadopoulos, Spiro Agnew, George Papandreou, Andreas Papandreou, Maria Callas, Jacqueline Onass

long list of synthetic products. But we cut down the list by a third." Final negotiations were handled by Andreas, after Mavros left to become Governor of the National Bank of Greece. The five revisions which Andreas secured were a serious blow to Pappas:

1. The Greek public's share of the profits in oil would be increased by 10 percent or no less than 50 cents a barrel of crude oil.

2. The Greek state reduced the number of monopolies from 29 to 9. The 20 monopolies freed were being opened to international bidding.

3. The Greek state secured the right to import crude oil from countries which would be willing to take agricultural products in return. Originally Pappas had a single source of crude oil: ESSO.

4. The Greek state secured the right to import at least 15 percent of domestically consumed oil, thus piercing, however slightly, Pappas' monopoly in that field.

5. A deposit of $5,000,000 with a Greek bank was required as security for a steel mill, which Pappas has undertaken to build. The previous agreement provided that the deposit be only $500,000.

"Obviously," the House document states, "the new agreement was not as profitable as the previous one."

After the renegotiation, Pappas began to stall on the implementation of the refinery deal and to ally with the Center Union's conservative opposition. Andreas charges flatly: "Pappas financed defections from our ranks." He alleges further that the price tags in the case of some deputies ran as high as $300,000. The strategy worked. Just as Onassis was able to get the terms he wanted for Olympic Airways from the Conservative government that succeeded to power after 1965, so too, Tom Pappas managed to renegotiate the Esso-Pappas agreement from successor governments on favorable terms.

This experience with Papandreou *père et fils* gave Pappas every reason to fear the likelihood of a Center Union Party victory in the elections scheduled for May 27-28, 1967. He had his monopolies and his refinery profits, and his tankers had steady employment hauling Esso crude to Greece. But of course the elections never took place because the Colonels struck on April 21.

The tales of Aristotle Onassis and Thomas Pappas have a lot in common. After accumulating sizeable fortunes outside Greece, both return and try to gain a footing on native grounds. Both men have run-ins with the Papandreou regime. Then a coup takes place and a change occurs in the business climate. There is a lot of good evidence that Onassis knew about the coup beforehand—and that Thomas Pappas' employees were working only part-time for Esso-Pappas and spent most of their hours on duty with the CIA. But crediting Onassis and Pappas with this kind of power overstates the amount of political leverage that even the Greek establishment is able to wield. It happens that the long-term interests of the two coincide powerfully with the international oil companies they serve. They operate like pilot fish, swimming next to the international oil sharks, scavenging the detritus that falls, in the form of shipping contracts, from their jaws. So to find out who really killed Greek democracy and why, rather than who merely picked the bones after the kill, requires that we return again to 1947—the year of Ari's ship dealings the year of Tom Pappas' wheat windfall; the year of the Truman Doctrine; and the dawn of the Cold War.

[WHY ARE WE IN GREECE?]

IT WAS CHIEFLY THE STRATEGIC THREAT to the Middle Eastern oil reserves belonging to the cartel of Western oil companies that first brought US power to bear on Greece after the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine in 1947 and which keeps it behind the Colonels today.

When travellers think of Greece, they envision the Parthenon, the Acropolis, the Colossus of Maroussi; but in the musings of US national security managers, Greece appears as a giant military base and key espionage center. Crete is a kind of flat-top carrier bristling with attack-jets ready to discipline errant Middle Eastern regimes; and historic Piraeus seems to be a large whore house for Sixth Fleet sailors' R&R. From these vital pre-occupations flows America's need to embrace the Greek Junta and appear simultaneously to be giving it the cold shoulder. Thus, on the one hand, there is a news photo of Premier Papadopou-

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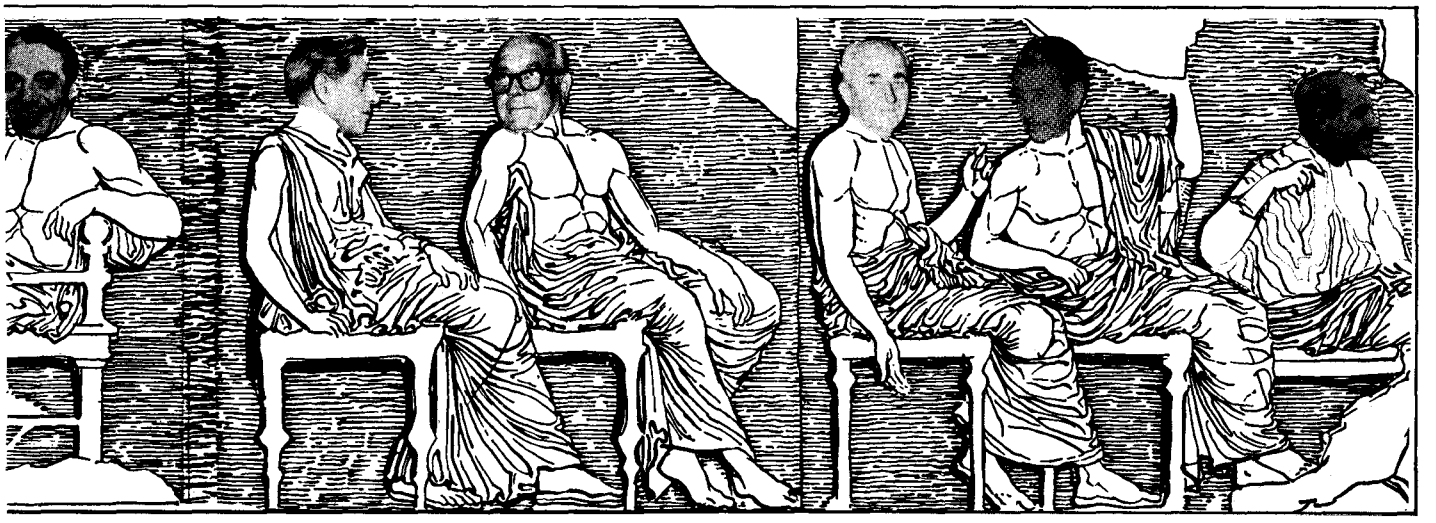

Aristotle Onassis, Spyros Skouras, Thomas Pappas, Stavros Livanos, Stavros Niarchos

los escorting Vice President Agnew on his state visit this October and kneeling over the family graveside. But on the other, there are the tepid apologetics of Secretary of State William Rogers in which the former Wall Street attorney claims to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in March 1969 that he shared the Senators' "concern" not only for "the torture phase" of Greece's military regime, "but for other civil liberties infringements."

At least formally, US support for the Greek Junta constitutes a greater foreign policy dilemma than similar support for Thieu and his military clique. No communist threat exists as a rationale for US military and economic aid to the Colonels; and they have not yet managed to stage even rigged elections.

It may be an academic question whether or not the present regime in Greece actually qualifies as fascist in some technical sense of the term. Historically, fascist power smashes democratic institutions with an organized mass movement of the lower middle classes. The Colonels, numbering about 180 according to reliable estimates, struck silently and alone. No one has ever accused them of receiving active popular support from any section of the Greek people. Deprived of any mass support or juridical legitimacy, the Colonels have been forced more than any other Greek government into appeasing foreign interests; relying on such makeout artists as Tom Pappas; grovelling before the independent shipowners—Greece's largely absentee capitalist class; and making blatant but obviously sincere appeals to the worst elements in the Greek character. But whatever the nomenclature—fascist, semi-fascist or neo-fascist, the Papadopoulos government is unquestionably bad news.

How to justify the relationship? Both Johnson and Nixon said that their continued military shipments were based on the alleged threat of invading Bulgarian hordes. But just how seriously Administration spokesmen regard this threat *privately* can be seen from top secret papers of the Greek National Defense General Staff obtained by Greek resistance leader Elias Demetracopoulos and made available to RAMPARTS.

The documents contain a transcript of discussions held in 1964 between Secretary of Defense McNamara and Greek Defense Minister P. Garoufalias over the question of stepped up aid to the Greek army. In requesting $80 million in military aid, Garoufalias invoked the Bulgarian specter. McNamara replied, "the threat is not as serious as you described it." Garoufalias then promptly threatened to cut the Greek army from 165,000 to 50,000. "We would then serve better," he said, "the development of our economy and we would not have to ask for external contributions to our defense expenditures. But unfortunately, the Bulgarians are also aware that NATO ties are slackening." At this point, McNamara apparently blew up. "Is it your opinion," he asked sarcastically, "that we would spend millions of dollars for military assistance to Greece and that we would spend so much money derived from the very heavy taxation of the American taxpayers to keep the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean if we would not be resolved to respect our contractual responsibilities? The USA has always honored its word."

Garoufalias: "The sacrifices of the USA are enormous and we fully recognize them. But the mission of the Sixth Fleet is not to cope with a local but with a general war."

McNamara: "On the contrary, I stress that the primary mission of the Sixth Fleet is to intervene in case of a local war."

Garoufalias; "Then I think that we should have a statement from the USA that in case of a local attack the Sixth Fleet will help us immediately."

McNamara: "I do not see the need for such a specific statement. We have already undertaken a solid commitment within the framework of the Alliance. The Sixth Fleet is where it is in order to prevent local wars. The military assistance we provide and the Sixth Fleet are self-evident proofs of our intentions."

Translated from diplomatic Orwellese, what McNamara is saying is that the purpose of the Greek army is to function as an internal police force. And the function of the Sixth Fleet is not to protect Greece from some non-existent Bulgarian threat, or even from the Turks. It's there to "prevent local wars" i.e., civil wars and insurgencies such as occurred in 1958 in Lebanon, where marines from the Sixth Fleet landed to prop up a pro-Western government and protect US oil in the Middle East. US aid to Greece is based on such an understanding.

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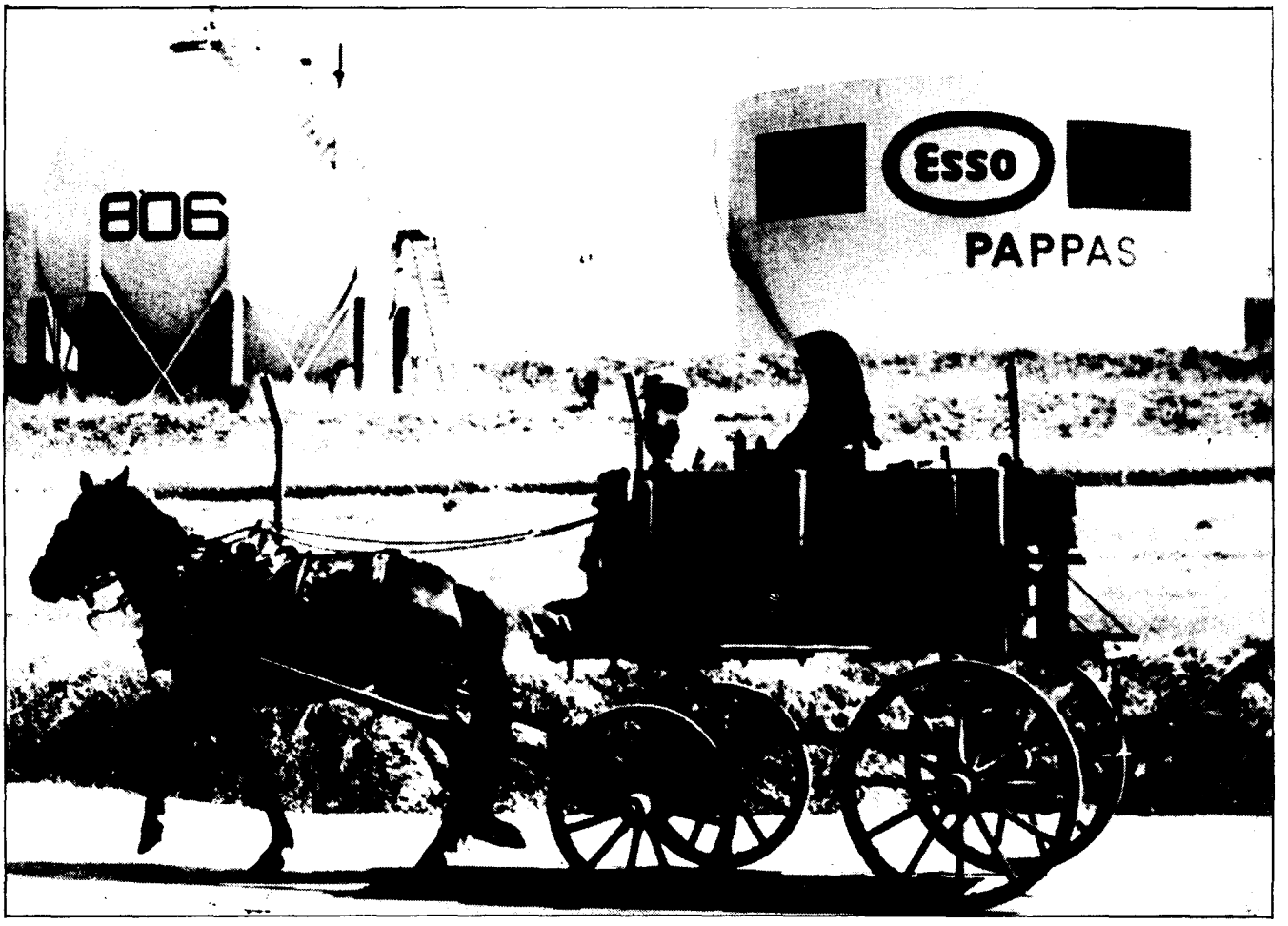

[HEEDING THE VOICE OF AMERICA]

WHEN SPIRO AGNEW GOES TO ATHENS to get photographed next to Colonel Papadopoulos and comes back saying he's "absolutely enthused," the impression is given that fascism was always the number one option in America's game plan for Greece. This is distinctly unfair to America's national security managers who always placed the fascist option in third place behind option number one: a conservative government with liberal opposition; and option number two—conservative opposition with a liberal government. Their present dilemma is that American power and influence have waned as popular resistance in Greece and elsewhere in the third world waxed, and the US is running out of options.

Washington rode with the Conservatives up until 1963. We switched to the Center Union Party led by George and Andreas Papandreou partly of necessity, partly in the hope Andreas would turn into a Greek-style Kennedy. These hopes turned into nightmares, as the Center Union Party began to respond to waves of populist and nationalistic sentiment that shook both the pilot fish and the sharks.

Living in Toronto from where he directs the Pan Hellenic Liberation Movement (PAK), after an international protest campaign secured his release from prison, Andreas Papandreou can now begin to appreciate the irony which underlies his being fingered as the US Embassy's *bête noire*. Born in 1919, he was educated at the University of Athens. In his youth he had been a Trotskyist activist involved in the resistance movement against the Metaxas dictatorship. Exile in the US followed his first capture and imprisonment. In America, he studied at Harvard, earned a Ph.D., learned Keynes and taught the corporation finance courses there with Paul Sweezy. During World War II, he volunteered for the US Navy, became a Lieutenant Commander and got US citizenship. A distinguished academic career followed, culminating in the chairmanship of the Economics Department at the University of California at Berkeley, where he wrote mathematical treatises on the economics of underdevelopment. Along the academic way-stations leading to Berkeley, he headed the Adlai Stevenson organization in Minnesota, becoming in the process a friend of Hubert Humphrey. He met John F. Kennedy and began to move close to the New Frontier.

By this time, of course, Papandreou no longer considered himself a Marxist. "I began to believe," he said, in a six hour interview with RAMPARTS, "in the saying, *Natura non facit salta*" (Nature makes no leaps). On the other hand, Papandreou still didn't feel completely Americanized. In 1960 he took a sabbatical in Athens on a Guggenheim fellowship, serving as an economic advisor to the Bank of Greece.

One day, Mr. Loughlin Campbell dropped by Andreas' office at the Bank. Campbell was top man in the Athens branch of the CIA, headquarters for the entire Mediterranean area and Washington's real Proconsul in a mission that has always been top heavy with spooks, soldiers and sailors, as opposed to ordinary diplomatic types. Mr. Campbell came to ask a favor. Would Andreas please ask his father to go along with the new CIA plan for the

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Greek electoral system. This plan would gerrymander out of existence thousands of communist voters who had been threatening Greek democracy by casting ballots—too many that is, since in the last election the United Democratic Left (pro-communist) had cheekily garnered a quarter of all the votes cast. Specifically, Campbell wanted Andreas to fix him up with an appointment to see his father, George, so that he could present the plan in person. Andreas agreed to arrange the meeting, but told Campbell he doubted his father, as a democrat, would have much enthusiasm for the CIA scheme. Andreas recollects that Campbell stood up, pointed his finger at him and said: "You tell your father we get what we want." And Campbell was right. George Papandreou is dead. Andreas is in exile. But Loughlin Campbell is still in Athens eating moussaka and giving orders.

Now this was a side of the New Frontier Andreas had never seen back in the Stevenson campaign in Minnesota. But gradually, as he underwent a process of repatriation through involvement in Greek politics as a Center Union activist and organizer, it was a side that began to come into clearer focus.

Despite his clash with the CIA, Andreas still had powerful American backers, to say nothing of Ford and Rockefeller Foundation grants to establish in Athens a Center of Economic Research and Planning under the auspices of UC-Berkeley. And he was still far from being disillusioned with America. Recollecting those days, Papandreou feels he was being groomed by Washington to take over the leadership after his father retired from politics. And then, in 1963, despite some worrisome signs (from the American point of view) of popular organization and resistance to US domination of Greek political life, the Embassy decided to allow free elections. It was a splendid opportunity both for the Center Union Party and Andreas, who took up Greek citizenship and ran for Parliament.

Andreas explains the American electoral strategy as follows: "There had been a falling out between King Constantine (who always served as a faithful transmission belt for American influence) and the Prime Minister, Karamanlis, who had been in power for seven years. The Americans were disturbed by Karamanlis' initiatives to DeGaulle. Karamanlis even wanted to appoint his own Chief of Staff. He tried to assert himself. So King Kennedy decided to let us have a chance at the polls. Of course the Americans were sure we'd never make it. They figured that we might get a relative majority. Instead we got 53 percent of the vote. . . . It was a real upset and an unyielding campaign followed for two years against the Establishment. There were many confrontations against the Voice of America, the CIA, and on the Cyprus question."

PROBABLY FROM THE US STANDPOINT, the most serious provocation was in fact the stance of the Center Union government over Cyprus. Located over 100 miles off the coast of Lebanon, it appears on the map like a dagger pointed at the throat of the Arab world. In 1956, British planes took off from Cyprus in the abortive plan to overthrow the Nasser government and re-occupy the Suez canal.

The Cyprus problem, to oversimplify considerably, stemmed from the fact that it is an island inhabited chiefly by Greeks with a small Turkish minority—about 10 percent. But the island is much closer to Turkey than Greece. Possession of the island inflames nationalist passions in both countries. As between the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots, the US of course prefers the NATO Cypriots: that is anyone who will let the US keep Cyprus as the Okinawa of the Mediterranean.

Imagine the fury of American planners when Greece refused to go along with the Acheson plan for partitioning Cyprus for the sake of NATO stability. The boiling point was reached when Andreas, responding to nationalist feeling, began to hint that Greece might pull out of NATO. And the explosion took place when the Center Union government announced it would take Soviet aid in preparation against Turkish attacks.

Even the USIA got into the affair when Andreas demanded that the Voice of America stop broadcasting BBC tapes which contained pro-Turkish propaganda. Vincent Joyce, the USIA chief, came by Andreas' office to talk some sense to a fellow American who appeared to have gone native. As the head of a $500 million facility, Joyce was a powerful man in the US apparatus. And in his informal American way, he felt the problems of Greco-American diplomacy could best be dealt with on a first-name basis. "Andreas, . ." Joyce began. "You will address me as Mr. Minister," Papandreou replied. A heated exchange followed. Andreas asked Joyce to leave. Joyce exited and began to circulate the story that he had been bodily thrown out of the Minister's office, further poisoning the relations between Andreas and the Embassy. As trivial as it seems, the Joyce incident was added to the gravamen of US charges against Andreas, not the least of which was that he had begun to violate diplomatic protocol by failing to show up regularly at Embassy cocktail parties.

The US showed only slightly less hostility to the Center Union government's domestic economic policies. According to Andreas, his government's policy of rapid but non-inflationary growth still ran counter to the *desiderata* of the international financial community, that was American-dominated too. "We were blacklisted from the start," he recalled. "We tried to force an income redistribution, mainly through subsidies to the agricultural sector. Immediately the Embassy began to charge us with irresponsibility. The financial community said we were demagogic and we began to experience difficulties over the balance of payments deficit. "To get Greece moving," in the Kennedy idiom, or simply to be able to roll over Greece's obligations, Andreas had to deal with the man who was then head of the World Bank, Mr. George Woods.

"I went to Woods," says Andreas, "to ask him to make Greece eligible for a World Bank loan. Woods said he was quite willing. But there was one condition: We had to pay off some American bonds." Actually there were three sets of US dollar bonds from 1924 and 1925. The agent for the bonds was the First National City Bank of New York.

"We discussed this in the government and decided to pay off the dollar bonds. So I went back to see Woods with the promise to liquidate the American debt. At this point

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Nixon confers with brass of the 6th Fleet, America's police force for Greece and the Middle East

Woods remembered that there were some British sterling bonds outstanding." Papandreou consulted again with other members of the government over the question of repayment of the sterling bonds and returned with the agreement to pay off the 1931 British notes. Woods replied by demanding that Greece first pay off the French investors' bonds left over from the days of railroad construction in the Old Ottoman Empire: the gold franc bonds of 1883! "At this point," Andreas says, "I felt like taking a gun and shooting the bastard! But almost the moment the god damn dictatorship seized power, they got the loan from the World Bank. I told George Woods we will not validate this loan. If democracy comes back to Greece, we won't validate it. And Woods answered by saying that the World Bank couldn't refuse the dictatorship the loan, because that would be interfering in Greece's internal affairs." (Woods now serves as head of the First Boston Corporation, one of the world's largest investment banking houses, specializing in oil and government bonds.)

Asked to comment on Andreas' version of the story, a spokesman for the World Bank confirms that it refused to grant loans without payment of the privately held US, British, and French notes, which altogether amounted, with accrued interest, to somewhere between $200–$300 million. He denied, however, that the negotiations were carried out serially. "We dealt with the thing as a package," he said. As to the charge that the World Bank has a lending preference for dictatorship, the spokesman said that the successful conclusion of protracted negotiations culminating during the period of the dictatorship was just an "unhappy coincidence."

[PIMPING SPIRO FOR THE COLONELS]

WE KNOW WHAT THE AMERICAN STAKES ARE in Greece—strategic access to the Middle East oil, domestic refining, interest payments on the Greek national debt, US propaganda and intelligence centers for the Mediterranean area. We've seen, too, how the Center Union Party's mild reformism began to threaten those interests and provoked the need for some kind of coup. Undoubtedly, the US would have liked a "constitutional" coup by King Constantine, but the Greek king, who would appear to have difficulty walking and whistling at the same time, could never get it on. So we got Colonel Papadopoulos and his group, who display many of the tendencies of the European fascist movement of the 1930s.

What's still hard to explain is the Nixon administration's stance of public approval for this regime. LBJ's Defense

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Secretary, Clark Clifford, by contrast was almost demure when he went before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee about a year after the Colonel's *putsch* to explain US Greek policy. "I believe that the obligation upon us as a member of NATO is such that I place that as a more important consideration than I do the present government of Greece. I believe that we deal with a highly imperfect world, and if we were to confine our help to our Allies on the basis of our approving completely the different types of governments that existed then, I believe that NATO would disintegrate, and I believe that would be a calamity." Why doesn't the Nixon administration issue pragmatic Clark Clifford type justifications for its aid program? Why is it increasing its military aid program? What is Spiro—who can't even say hello in Greek—doing making state visits to Athens? All this causes the US embarrassment with some of its NATO allies, and further solidifies among liberals and leftists the US image around the world as the mother of dictators. At least part of the answer must lie with the Greek-American lobby of which Tom Pappas is the most influential member.

FORTUNATELY FOR THE PAPPAS BROTHERS, the most famous Greek warrior in the never-ending battle against "communism" is a man they have cultivated especially well over the years. Thomas Pappas did not have to ask "Spiro who?" when Nixon's running mate was announced in 1968. Pappas was one of Agnew's biggest campaign contributors when he ran for Governor of Maryland in 1966. More than anyone else, Pappas has been credited with lifting the former Spiro Anagnostopoulos from the obscurity of Maryland county officialdom. Early in the Maryland campaign, Pappas joined efforts with Spyros Skouros to promote Agnew's candidacy at a luncheon to which prominent Greeks and Greek-Americans were invited. Jack Anderson's inventory of the guest list included Aristotle Onassis, Stavros G. Livanos, Stavros Niarchos and Manuel Kulukundis, Chairman of the Hellenic-American Chamber of Commerce.

Pappas properly denies the widely published stories that he was responsible for Agnew's V.P. nomination. Nelson Rockefeller, whose family sponsors the Esso side of the Esso-Pappas enterprise, deserves that honor. But this much is clear. At a meeting of top Republican strategists at former Attorney General Herbert Brownell's Lord, Day & Lord law offices, the decision was made to drop John V. Lindsay, because of Strom Thurmond's objections. Tom Pappas was one of those who encouraged the selection of Spiro. It was suggested that, if Agnew were given the nomination, Pappas could raise big money from Greek-Americans.

Just how close Pappas was to Agnew and what he expected of him is illustrated by the following pre-election item from *Der Spiegel* (September 30, 1968): "Should Agnew become Vice President—which Pappas doesn't doubt—he will visit Premier Papadopoulos by 1970 at the latest.' Agnew *tried* to visit Athens in 1970 during his first round the world jaunt, but the White House wouldn't let him go, forcing the Vice President to content himself with his Kenya trip where he spent odd hours watching rhinos copulate. The state visit did come off by October 1971. After three days of private talks, the official portion of the visit ended and Papadopoulos, Pattakos and Agnew, with Thomas Pappas at his elbow, made a pilgrimage to the Vice President's ancestral home—a shared experience Spiro and Tom must have discussed when they took the Vice Presidential jet back to Washington together.

In exchange for promising to deliver Agnew to the Colonels, the Colonels have delivered quite a bit on their own. Papadopoulos has raised tariffs around Pappas' iron and steel products to protect them from world competition. He's handed over to Pappas an important pipeline project which connects Salonika with Yugoslavia. And over angry opposition from Greece's citrus farmers, the government has allowed Pappas to establish Coca Cola bottling plants in Athens, Salonika and Patras. Premier Papadopoulos himself seems to have taken a special interest in the Coke project: when the International Trade Fair opened in Salonika, he visited only one exhibit: Tom Pappas' Coke display. There he stopped to raise his glass for the pause that refreshes.

Meanwhile, back in the States those in the know about Greece began to advise that if you want to do business with the Colonels, it's best to do it through Tom Pappas. To the embarrassment of the US Embassy's bureaucrats, Pappas has become the official host for top Americans visiting Greece. The Embassy is simply ignored. Donald Nixon, the President's brother who works for the Marriott Corporation, went via the Pappas route when he arrived in Athens to arrange a catering contract between Marriott and Olympic Airways. And the following letter to Pappas dated May 6, 1969 from Junta supporter US Congressman Roman C. Pucinski (D. Ill.) illustrates further how Pappas has become Mr. Fixit for those who need a fix from the fascists:

Dear Tom:

Thank you very much for your most recent letter.

Deputy Prime Minister Pattakos was most pleased with his visit to Washington, and I told him of your help in making his visit such a success.

I am looking forward to visiting with you again. In the meantime, I am grateful to you for your help. I am also grateful for the assistance you are giving to Mr. Zantiotis.

With warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,
Roman C. Pucinski
Member of Congress

Despite Pappas' warm letters of appreciation from the Colonels and Pappas' effusive public statements about them, observers see signs that some strains have developed in the firm of P&P, Inc. They cite as evidence a statement given out to the Greek press by George Miller, one of Pappas' executives who runs Esso-Pappas Chemical. According to Miller, the chemical operation has been a "financial disappointment." The Colonels, he says, are charging too much for power from the state-owned Public Power Corporation. Twice as much as in the original contract. Esso-Pappas Chemical, he further alleges, is also being charged too

(Continued on page 57)

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Melina Mercouri.... "I was born Greek."

"To live in exile
is something that is
very, very strange.
You become somebody else.
All the things that happen
to other countries . . .
become more dear to you.
I became less nationalistic,
and at the same time
I cry more for Greece."

by Judy Oringer

TO MANY PEOPLE *Melina Mercouri is the essence of Greekness. Until the fascist takeover in April 1971, she was in fact a sort of unofficial ambassadress at large for her country. Since the coup, however, Miss Mercouri—who had achieved an international reputation as an actress following the film* Never on Sunday*—has been working for the Resistance which has sprung up to oppose the Colonels running Greece. She has held press conferences, spoken on radio and television, and formed committees to make people aware of the political situation in Greece. Recently she wrote her autobiography,* I Was Born Greek *(Doubleday & Co.) The book is an intimate revelation of her life: her passionate love for Greece, her career as an actress, her family, the men in her life. It is told in a manner typifying her warmth and passion, her sense of humor and her love for the land from which she is now outlawed.*

The following interview was done on the day that Joan Baez was paying tribute to Melina Mercouri and the Resistance by dedicating a San Francisco concert to the Greek La Pasionaria. It was also the day that wirephotos showed Spiro Agnew on his good will tour to Greece, underscoring the US commitment to the regime.

As we talked, Jules Dassin, the noted film director and Miss Mercouri's husband, moved in and out of the conversation, occasionally walking over to look through the camera of a documentary film company filming the interview and offering friendly professional advice. Like his wife Jules Dassin knows what it is to live in exile. During the height of the McCarthy frenzy he was forced to leave America in order to continue his work as a film director, uncensored and unsuppressed. Since then the Mercouri-Dassin team has made many artistic and commercial successes—films like Never on Sunday, Phaedra, Topkapi, He Who Must Die *and* Promise at Dawn. *They now live in exile in Paris, awaiting the day Greece is liberated.*

—JUDY ORINGER

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What do you hope to get out of your trip to the United States?

Hope is a very fragile thing, but it is something that makes you continue the fight. I can't tell you that I have hope that I will change the policy of the American State Department or the American Government but I always have the hope that I will find people who are sympathetic to a good cause, and sympathetic to all the causes that concern Greece. So I am here to speak out, and it is the only thing that I can do if I am outside my country. The fight must continue, you understand! We haven't any other choice.

We hear about atrocities in Greece all the time—about the suppression of civil liberties, the constant arrests, and torture. Is the situation that bad?

We have been living under martial law for four and a half years. That is the first example in the history of the world that a country has lived under martial law for four and five years. Nobody put themselves in the position to understand what it is to live like this . . . martial law means that you are deprived of every liberty. You have nothing. Even if you express yourself in the most innocent manner you are liable to be caught and imprisoned, to be tortured by the security police, to be humiliated. I want a journalist to explain once what it means to live under martial law. Because if you are not aware of what martial law is, then you can't understand why I'm doing what I'm doing, and I become somebody that is folklore—amusing or silly.

I think people read about certain personalities who have been released from prison like the composer Theodorakis, and they imagine that the situation is getting better.

Theodorakis was in prison without being judged for three and a half years! Nowhere in the world, except in the dictatorships, do you have those rights. Because people ask about Theodorakis and he was very famous, he was released. They let Theodorakis out of Greece because they thought he was doing more harm to them inside the prison after three and a half years than outside Greece. But this is nothing!

What about the anonymous people that they have in the prisons, what about eight million people who are afraid to talk? What about them? What about the children in the schools? What about those children who were forced to go yesterday with the little flags given by the government to greet Mr. Agnew? They force those kids to carry flags to whom? To somebody who oppressed them! Somebody who makes the structure of the schools something unbearable and shameful. What do those children know? What about the children who were ten years old when the Colonels took over, who are now fifteen? What have they heard on the radio, on the television, from the newspapers or their professors? If one professor dares to say something against them or speaks the word "liberty," he is dismissed from the school.

The newspapers say that Agnew was very well-received.

We know very well that the dictators can force people to come. They are afraid not to come (because every district has a Gauleiter (civil guard). They take your names. "Ah, you are Mrs. ————, and you don't go. You must send your child and come with him because otherwise you will be punished in some way. We will find you, we will get you." The people are afraid so they go. But isn't that something shameful for a country?

Photographs by Louise Kollenbaum

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I've heard that newsmen have admitted to you that they didn't know about the CIA involvement in Greece. Have you found that Americans refuse to believe that the CIA engineered the coup?

I don't believe that Americans refuse to admit to themselves that they are the oppressors. Mr. Agnew went to Greece and congratulated Mr. Papadopoulos. I believe that now they have shown in a very cynical way that they want the Junta, that they support them, and with great glamor. I don't believe that you have the right anymore to say that you don't support the Junta. You are supporting the Junta, your government is supporting the Junta. Since I know that Mr. Nixon had free elections, everybody who voted for Mr. Nixon is very responsible for what happens to my country. It's the truth. They are saying what all the Germans said, "We didn't know that the Jewish people were being burned in concentration camps". Who is kidding whom? You *are* responsible for what happens to my country. Things are very clear, and I prefer that because now I can scream more without having even the slightest doubt.

* * *

It seems that there are very strong economic and political connections between the Greeks and wealthy Greek-Americans. Apparently some of the Greek-American shipowners like Thomas Pappas, and Spyros Skouras' people are very close to Agnew. . . .

But Thomas Pappas is the boy of Agnew, you know that very well. . . . [Jules Dassin: "Or Agnew is Pappas' boy."] Who is the boy of whom, you know? It's like the pederast: who fucks who? Excuse me.

People like Niarchos and Onassis. Do you think they've become more powerful since the coup? What is their strength?

The man is the strength. And their cynical attitude toward life. I'm not surprised about Onassis. Onassis makes himself very clear. He's a man who wants power and money, a man who represents power and money. It is very obvious that he would like the Junta because people cannot make strikes, you can't protect your civil rights. The Junta suits him very well, Mr. Onassis. So do all the juntas of the world. He always has work in South America. Now he's coming to Greece. He will go everywhere that juntas exist. This is capitalism, is it not?

What about the backing of King Constantine? Does he have a following?

I believe that there are a few officers who will remain faithful to King Constantine, and I believe he has a certain strength in the Army. That's why I believe that he's very much responsible for what happens to Greece. Because, when the Junta came, if he was not so blah-blah-blah-blah, then perhaps the Army would have been with him and not with the Junta. But he was cowardly. He was not a responsible king. He was very young and he signed a thing that was shameful. The people didn't know if the King was with them or not. The Army didn't know for a while if it was a coup led by the King or not. And that was a terrible thing that happened to Greece. . . . [Jules Dassin: "Because all the first orders and all the edicts bore the King's signature, forged, literally forged."]

And after that he made a coup, he made a fuss. Everybody knew it. Even before he even thought of doing it. Everybody around him knew about it. Papadopoulos knew it beforehand. The King asked the Greek people to give their blood and after seven hours he left with his suitcases, with his little dogs and with his great mother. Was he responsible? When you ask Greek people to go to die for you, you should stay. It was impossible to touch him—he would not have lost his life. If he had been in prison for one hour, it would have been something amazing. But he still left. Now perhaps he will grow up in exile. I hope he will. Because everybody grows up in exile.

Why do you think the US is so interested in Greece? Why is it pouring so much money into Greece? Why Greece?

Because you love us so much that you want to kill us. It is the Mediterranean and the geographical location of Greece.

You've been living in exile for several years in Paris and the United States. How does it affect you?

To live in exile is something that is very, very strange. You become somebody else. Because at the same time you become somebody more international. All the things that happen to other countries that are in the same situation as yours become more dear to you, become more close to you, become *your* problem. I became less nationalistic, and at the same time I cry more for Greece. I can't explain. I wanted to be a writer to explain what it means to be in exile. You have a thirst for your language. . . .

I will tell you a story about what happened to me in Paris. I was in a taxi and the chauffeur said to me, "Madame, why did you make me cry?" I was very astonished when he said that to me. "Why did you speak out?" Then he said to me, "I am a compatriot, a Spanish compatriot I've been here for thirty years. I left Spain during the Civil War. If I hadn't left my village, in five minutes they would have executed me. Ach, thirty years! And I wanted to go back. I wanted to see this country again and I went back two years ago, after 28 years." "And you know what," he said, "everybody has forgotten my face, my ideas, everything. And the most terrible thing I can say is that they were happy . . . happy in a way that I hate." So, this is what it is to be in exile. How many people now go to holidays in Spain? Even the Communist Party in Spain has given the order: "Go to Spain." We had a great dilemma, Dassin and me, about making a film in Spain. Very progressive friends said go. But what does that mean? It is the biggest defeat. It is because they know that it is *finished,* that they must start from the beginning, and people like us, progressives, we must go and speak to the people. So when I said the first year: "Don't go to Greece, isolate Greece. Don't give support to Greece. Don't go, tourists", it was a good political action. And now after four

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and a half years I can't say the same thing. But it is a defeat. They have won. And that is the biggest defeat for the world if they have won.

Some people here—especially young people—want to help but don't know what they can do.

But it is not the problem of the young people to go and fight for us in Greece. That makes me angry. They have so many things to do here in America—your country is going to hell! You must work out your own problems first. Then I can ask you to go and fight with me in Greece. But I do have the right to ask you to fight here. Because that helps Greece. I feel that young people are much less active than they were in 1968. In 1968 I had great hope for the youth of America. I don't know if they take drugs . . . or if they take Nixon. It is the same thing. To forget Nixon, you must take everything. Either you must kill him or you must take everything to forget him because otherwise you have nightmares . . . I am a little disappointed in the American youth. And I will tell them that. Because they must be organized. They were organized in 1968, and during the Revolution in France. That was one of the most beautiful things in the world. The French, they did it. And nothing will be the same in France, even with a conservative government like Pompidou's. They are lazy, after all. With the first difficulty that they have, they all go to drugs to forget their humiliation and their defeat and they don't organize. They are talking, talking, talking, and they learn, they learn, they learn. No! It is to organize a revolution in a practical way. To organize something very profoundly and very deeply and not only to make demonstrations or marches. Marches don't mean anything any more. To protest. You must organize the people and make them militant!

* * *

I wonder if we could talk about Promise at Dawn *for a moment?*

I like the film very much, and the part that I played. But if I can do a film that has more political meaning, this is my project, my most beloved project. I will do it now perhaps. We couldn't find the money to do it before. But we will do it, Dassin and me. We must do it: we are people in exile. The story is about people who went to the Council of Europe, who were inside Greece, and escaped. They testified in the Council of Europe when Greece was thrown out. It will be the story of four or five people. It will be a story about a worker—because in Greece we have a terrible problem with all the youth because they can't find work in Greece and are forced to go outside Greece to Australia, to Germany, America and Canada. So it will be the story of one worker. It will be four or five stories. It will be the story of a woman who was not politicized. She became a good citizen in Greece after the coup. It will be about an actress who was tortured by the security police. And it will be a story about a man who was living in exile for thirty years in the socialist countries—in Russia, Tashkent, and now in Paris. He's a writer. All that will have a connecting theme. There will be many songs in the film because there is a great tradition of songs in the Resistance in Greece. The Greeks, when they suffer, when they love, they express everything with songs. And I hope that it will be something that will document not only the lives of these people, but the atmosphere in Greece all together.

* * *

I had wanted to ask you about being a woman in Greece, a woman with ambition.

You understand that the difficulty in Greece is to be a man, a woman, a child, a cat, a dog. Understand this, too: I am for the liberation of woman. I am for everything that is progressive. But in Greece where we have nothing it's not important to protect only a woman's rights, but to protect a man's rights, too. I must be for the human beings in my country. And for the children most of all. Because we can make our lives. But what will the children become in Greece? They will transform all the Greek children into little fascists. With distorted ideas. And this is the crime of a dictatorship —the greatest crime. Textbooks are rewritten. The history of Greece is told with lies. Everything is distorted. If a professor says the word "liberty" or even speaks about Greek tragedy—they cut words from the Greek tragedies—then he is fired. You must read about what the Resistance means. Because it is more profound for you not to be political, but to be *resistant*. You must fight as the militants and the resistants fight, not as the politicians. With all the movements that you are making now, you speak like another establishment. The youth have become another establishment. You must have moods, tactics, you must be resistant! You must be an army.

[Jules Dassin: "Yes, but at the same time, you say use the vote. Yet you say you must be more resistant than the politicians. I disagree with that. I think you have to think *politically* and work *politically* and organize *politically* in order to be resistant. Let's say you support a guy like McGovern and you get him to write into the plank of the Democratic Convention a very clear attitude with absolute condemnation outright, no futzing around with this kind of government. Then, that'll help Greece. Get that plank into the Convention."]

What I think is the most shameful thing of all about youth in the world is that they talk about internationalism, they talk about Trotskyism, Leninism, Maoism and all that. If they speak about internationalism, why don't they do acts in Greece, or in South America, or in Pakistan? Nowhere. If they say they can do nothing here because of the political structure of the Pentagon, fight them in other countries then. Let's go! I want one student to come. . . . I'm not contradicting myself either. They abstain from voting, they accept the fact that they can't do anything here in America. From outside, then. They must invent the revolution. Not to talk only in a room.

But I must say that I don't like all my criticism of the youth. When I criticize like that, it is because I belong to the youth and I feel that they belong to me, and they are the only hope. The only hope. That's why I'm talking. Because they are the people I want to reach. Otherwise, we are dead: all together, let's dance and die. ■

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Mascots of War

THIRTEEN-YEAR-OLD LE VAN CAU had been studying English, so, when the village chief came and asked him to work whenever necessary as an interpreter between the villagers and the Americans, it seemed like a good way for him to practice his English. At first all he did was relay to the Americans the needs of his village for medicine and food stuffs. But after a year of this he and the Americans had developed a genuinely warm rapport. They had even given him an American name, "Bobby," and so in his eyes they were rich, powerful, the good guys. And from their point of view, Bobby was bright, helpful, a very winning kid, incredibly eager to please. So the Captain of Company D asked Bobby if he wanted to work with the Americans as an interpreter. Elated, Bobby accepted—and so, at age 14, became, in his own words, "same, same as Americans. I do everything they do. I eats with them. Sleep with them. Wear soldier clothes. Anything they want, I do. They say kill V.C., I kill V.C."

Company D was divided into groups, each with its own civilian "interpreter" like Bobby, and each was assigned a different area. His platoon, the First, was assigned to Phu Thanh village, about 20 kilometers from his home, and so Bobby left school and joined them. There, during the day, he would work with Company D and the people of Phu Thanh to "keep the communists out." This meant building hamlet fences, putting up barbed wire and sandbags; in general, making the village secure militarily. At night they would move out and set up ambushes or raids and here too Bobby went along as a full participant.

After six months or so, they began moving into insecure areas. There Bobby would help with the security check. He would go into houses of suspected Viet Cong, ask to see their papers, making sure their credentials were in order and, if not, taking them back to the interrogation center. Here he did indeed function as an interpreter, but at all other times Bobby will be the first to eagerly reassure you that he functioned just like any other US soldier. "I set mines. My American buddies check to see O.K., then we fix, go off. When we find communists, I shoot. Americans give me M-16, bullets, everything. I look just like American soldier. They show me how to use gun. I shoot communists, just like my buddies."

How many V.C. did you kill, Bobby? "Wow! I forgets, but *beaucoup, beaucoup.*"

As one of the guys from Company D said, "Sure, now that I look back on it, it just was wrong to take a 14-year-old kid and indulge him in a soldier fantasy thing—'cuz out there it's for real. I know that back in the States I never would have let such a thing happen much less pay for part of the kid's salary out of my own pocket. But over here, in order to survive, you gotta forget there's a right and a wrong. It's a common practice to use kids like Bobby and so we just did it."

Bobby wasn't on any army payroll, since officially you must be 18, but he was paid by the soldiers in his platoon, each of whom took a little from his pay each month and gave it to the Lieutenant who in turn would take the military money to Chou Lai and there, on the black market, convert it, at almost twice the legal rate, to Vietnamese money. Bobby's salary depended upon how much each man liked him and felt like giving, so while he usually received $50 per month, it varied from $35 to $100, which meant the average contribution was $1 to $2 per man. He was well-fed, housed, clothed, and at age 14, received a salary higher than a soldier in the regular South Vietnam (ARVN) forces.

The only drawback was that Bobby and others like him were usually sent out first.

by Jill Marti

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LEFT: *"It's O.K. . . . All me buddies have something gone."*

RIGHT: *". . . And . . . his long, thin fingers have been opening and closing in a protective gesture around the remains of his leg. . . ."*

SOMEHOW BOBBY MADE IT THROUGH two years of working for the Americans as an interpreter-scout, receiving only a minor wound in his back, but this spring, at age 16, Bobby stepped on a land mine and that was the end of his career with the US military.

"We go patrol. Move out. I see one house. I tell Lieutenant that house of V.C. over there. Lieutenant tell everyone stop. Me and Lieutenant and two buddies go check house. Don't have nothing. I move out. I go along path, look for V.C. Then—I don't know nothing—maybe mine, maybe grenade, maybe V.C. booby trap. Next thing I wake up in hospital, left leg gone, can't move right one. I don't know why. I ask for buddies. They all say O.K. 'cuz Bobby went first."

"My buddies come visit me. They afraid I die. They very unhappy. They buy me all sorts things. They give me 95,000 piasters (about $200 at black market rates). Then I move Quang Ngai hospital. My buddies come again, give me 104,000 piasters. My buddies want take me home with them, but I understand no can. They *beaucoup* people. So I give them picture of me take home, and I got pictures them all over my wall at home and right here too. I keep in my pocket."

And so Bobby eagerly opens the flap of his army camouflage shirt pulling out the pictures of his buddies and a letter listing how much each one of them gave him.

"Christ, we felt like Hell," a man from Bobby's platoon said. "We'd grown genuinely fond of the kid and when he had the accident—well—we knew it was wrong to send him out like that, but someone said, 'That's war.' Now there's the real trouble. You give up or forget that you ever had any standards. I bet if, at the beginning of this thing even one of us had said, 'Nothing doing. We can't take a 14-year-old boy as a soldier even if he wants us to,' then we all would've come to our senses. If only someone had said 'NO'."

When was the last time you saw your buddies, Bobby? "Two months ago, but they busy. They come see me soon. I know they be back to see me."

Well how about this man in the picture, Bobby? "Oh, he go home."

And this one? "Oh he go home too." And on and on through all his pictures.

And as you look at Bobby and notice that black fuzz just beginning to hover on his upper lip, you try to reach out, You must be sad about your leg, Bobby?

"Oh, no." And although his long, thin fingers have been opening and closing in a protective gesture around the remains of his leg, he says, "It's O.K. Honest. It's nothing. Now it O.K. All me buddies have something gone." And suddenly you realize that in this Quaker rehabilitation center, you, with all your limbs, are indeed the freak.

But surely your mother, Bobby, she must be saddened at what's happened?

"Oh, no, me mother happy. She know now I no have go Laos or Cambodia to fight. I go home."

Jill Marti is a free-lance journalist who recently returned from a visit to Southeast Asia.

Photographs by Jill Marti

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Senator "Scoop" Jackson: Pentagon Populist

"Why, I guess Scoop's changed less in the last twenty years than any man I know."

IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S perennial quest for a true redeemer and a real majority, the name of a doughty Cold War crusader from the Pacific Northwest has won increasingly higher status among top level planners. Henry "Scoop" Jackson, "the other candidate" for President, is usually dismissed as the kooky rocket-rattling Senator from Boeing. But up in Washington, his home state, party and labor professionals aren't dismissing Scoop. Nor are they in Florida, the Senator's first primary battle early next spring. And it won't be long before Californians too are forced to see him as a powerful contender, once his TV promotion campaign begins.

Though most electoral skeptics tend to dismiss Jackson as just another home-grown favorite son, he offers a number of winning attributes notably lacking among the rest of the soft-sell runners. In particular he presents the only direct challenge to Nixon's capture of the hardworking middle American core. Promoted by the Portland and Seattle papers for his jousting at the Party's leftmost fringes, Jackson has gone before national TV audiences to define the need for a "responsible" Democrat in '72. As he told *Face the Nation* recently, "There is real danger on the Democratic side that some people will be listening to the loudest voices. As I've traveled around the country, I find overwhelming acceptance to the concept that we need to be responsible in the area of defense and foreign policy."

Yet for all the concern the Gene McCarthyites have over his Cold War militarism, Henry Jackson is an all-American liberal who is very seriously in the running. On environment: he has been regarded as a conservation crusader for nearly three decades. On civil liberties: he not only attacked Joe McCarthy early, but his voting record beats Muskie and McGovern, and the same is true on general welfare issues. Before Al Lowenstein swept the ADA into foreign policy ratings, Jackson consistently scored in the high nineties for domestic liberalism. On labor: he claims the highest AFL-CIO rating of any man in the Senate. Even on the Vietnam War Jackson owned up to some weasling doubts about President Thieu's one-man extravaganza. To keep all his constituents straight he has even hired half of the Scammon-Wattenberg voting block team (authors of *The Real Majority*) to help run his Presidential campaign. Ben Wattenberg is a regular Jackson speech writer, and perhaps most important a chief strategist for Jackson's impending entry into the Florida, Tennessee, Oregon and California primaries.

That kind of breadth is precisely what campaign operatives like Wattenberg and Jackson's former administrative assistant John Solter are exploiting. Also on Jackson's team, to balance out the dove contingency, is Jeff Grinstein, on leave from Warren Magnuson's Capitol staff. Maggie, as he's known to confidants, is pushing hard for Scoop, both as honorary campaign co-chairman and through his influence on the Interstate Commerce Commission to ferret out railroad, oil, and utilities money for the campaign.

THE STORY OF JACKSON'S CLIMB to the Presidency at least begins with JFK's 1960 campaign, when Jackson, long a protégé of LBJ and Sam Rayburn, was all set to balance out the ticket as Vice President. Bobby Kennedy, who had been his legal counsel during the Joe McCarthy hearings, was set on Jackson. But then Rayburn decided it was essential to find a Southerner to balance the ticket, and Lyndon Johnson, expected to refuse the offer, was given first choice. Though Jackson remained close with Johnson, it was the beginning of his fall-out with liberal Democratic leadership. As more and more Democrats came to find war opposition highly opportune, Jackson came to find his Senate colleagues on the other side of the aisle, until shortly after the '68 election Nixon even offered him a cabinet post—either State or Defense.

Appropriately his name first reappeared for President in Houston—the aerospace city—in 1969, where a conclave of powerful old-line Democrats came together for a strategy session on how to wrest the party out of the hands of the peaceniks. Wrote the Houston *Chronicle* in November that year: "The tentative choice emerging from these behind-the-scenes conversations is Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash. If he is willing to take on the assignment, you can look for a big build-up of Jackson. Under these circumstances, he could become a major contender for the 1972 Presidential nomination."

Meanwhile as Jackson's Senatorial campaign was just getting underway late that fall, John Tower, the Senate's Republican Fundraising chairman, called a meeting of all Republican chairmen. There he explained that in some races, like "Gummy" (Montgomery) Johnson's state of Washington, the Republicans "weren't going to do anything to hurt Scoop," because not only was he unbeatable

by Frank Browning

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but more important he was one of the friendliest Democrats the Republican right had. "Gummy" was a little upset. But not nearly so much as in the following spring when he was back at a similar White House meeting. Stacked up like good scouts in an Oval Room receiving line, Gummy waited his turn until Nixon cracked a full watermelon smile, hand on Gummy's back, and preened; "How you doing with my good friend Scoop?" Gummy started to object, but not quickly enough for Nixon to make himself perfectly clear: "I just don't want anything to happen to cause a schism with the White House, or to give him anything to think the White House doesn't support him." John Tower was a little plainer: "Hell, there'll be no money going to an opponent of Scoop's in the state of Washington."

By then even Gummy had doubts about the two-party system, for back home he'd already lost a battle with his state finance committee which he had asked to raise a paltry $50,000 for Jackson's Republican opponent. The entire committee refused, admitting they were already shelling out for Jackson. Gummy immediately fired them all, thereby divorcing himself from nine-tenths of the corporate wealth in Washington state. Two of the ousted members who were co-chairmen for Jackson were William G. Reed, board chairman of Simpson Timber Company (one of the nation's six largest lumber products companies) and a former Republican national committeeman; and Bill Woods, president of Washington Natural Gas, the state's largest natural gas company. Other Republicans who helped put together a $100 a plate dinner for Scoop's Senate campaign that fall were George Weyerhaeuser, the timber magnate, and Boeing chairman, William Allen. Then there is Thomas Gleed, something of a walking vault in Seattle terms, head of Seattle First National Bank, Simpson Timber, and the Crow's Nest Coal Company, the latter also a major Washington corporation. Gleed, on one of his fundraising binges for Scoop, called up his buddy Edgar Kaiser, as in Kaiser Industries, and asked him rather obliquely whether he'd rather have a Nixon vs. Kennedy ticket or a Nixon vs. Jackson ticket. Edgar delivered.

JACKSON WON THE SENATE RACE with 84 percent of the vote in 1970. Better yet he had a sizeable money surplus left over. That, combined with the current drive, has raised enough that his staff now boasts of being able to wage a full television campaign for a California primary—something which ran Gene McCarthy over $2 million in 1968. One of the gambits almost certain to be used is a spot from the Senate campaign: it's late in the afternoon and the Northwest sunlight is shining through a misty forest glen as Scoop ambles among towering firs, holding his child's hand. This man, we are told, is the best friend conservation ever had, a man who was in there pitching for the wilderness as chairman of the Senate Interior Committee long before ecology became popular, the man who in 1969 won the Sierra Club's John Muir Award. All of which is true.

For in many ways, Henry Jackson is exemplary of the best the Federal Government has to offer the Conservation Axis. Yet there is a distinction between conservation legislation and environmental policy squarely directed at the political and social forces which affect the environment, and this is what defines Jackson's niche in the political ecosystem. Among the conservation acts for which he can claim credit are the Redwood National Park bill, the Land Water Conservation Use Fund (the cash register act enabling the government to buy new park land), the National Environmental Protection Act, and the North Cascades National Park complex, to name some of his most recent work. Yet what these acts represent is an attitude of preciousness toward the environment, the sort of scheme that would develop most of the country's land to death according to the designs of progress-minded business while setting up a few pocket retreats where affluent citizens could escape to soothe their cancerated lungs.

If insufficiency were the only fault to Jackson's environmental politics, he would still probably come out far ahead of the Muskie soft-shoe. More central to his concern is his use of conservation to fill out his voting-block checkerboard, a scheme tailored to the fundamental structure of the American electoral system where the right-sized blinders and the proper flavored lollipop will satisfy most any constituency.

When conflicts arise, as in the SST, he pulls out his other most stable constituency, organized labor. Then he is always able to wring out the cry for jobs and progress, and, echoing Spiro Agnew, declare that profits are better for poor people than anyone else. It is during moments as in a Florida speech last winter that he attempts to pit labor —the basic needs of the working man —against environmental extremists.

Jackson's ability to stave off competing interest groups, brokeraging his way between votes and economic power, shows up most graphically along the boundary markers for the North Cascades National Park. The park had for years been a *cause célèbre* among conservationists in Washington who were each year watching Disneylike developers move a little farther into the Northern wilderness. And though opposition from timber, gas and utility interests was bitter, Jackson was principally responsible for winning park approval. Only after the fight was done was it completely clear that nearly all the river valleys had been excluded, and the vast tracts of virgin timber lining them were left open for cutting.

Much like his environmental positions, Jackson likes to tout himself as a staunch libertarian. He won early prominence as one of the three minority Senators on the McCarthy Committee where he was especially critical of Joe McCarthy's tactics in weeding out church-harbored commies. And though it is a stand with which he always confronts his more liberal detractors, Jackson fails to mention that his real objection to McCarthy had been the late Senator's refusal to let the Democrats help run the committee's staff. Earlier, as a House member in the '40s, he voted against HUAC and against the Mundt-Nixon bill outlawing communists. Last winter while praising J. Edgar Hoover, Jackson took care to add he would not have handled the Berrigan brothers' arrests quite the same way as the FBI had done. He is even able to home in on the real fear of repression many people feel today, as in a recent talk where he declared how important it is "to make it possible for the top guy to get all points of view without a threatening climate. . . . We need to

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protect the sanctity of opinion without the threat of repression."

NOT SURPRISINGLY, JACKSON'S words are more prolific than his deeds, and they come back with the most painful irony on the real niggers of his home state, the Indians. His case is the Alaska Native Claims Bill where against White House opposition he was the first Senator to push a bill giving the Alaskan natives a billion dollars and 12–15 million acres of land. What he fails to mention is that the Indians' principal claim was for 60 million acres (also the figure offered in a separate Kennedy-Harris bill). As the Indians have repeatedly emphasized, their chances of survival on the rugged Alaskan terrain are nil if the land size is cut; Jackson knows full well that the quickest way to effect termination is to gradually whittle away their land so that they are less and less able to maintain their existence upon it. Jackson's position, however, is hardly surprising. His top staff man on the Interior Committee is James Gamble, the chief architect for all the termination schemes of recent years and a holdover from Jackson's predecessor on the committee, Clinton Anderson. Last fall Jackson tried to moderate his hardline image, by introducing legislation to permanently disavow termination; yet buried in the fine print was a provision that would also permanently cut all non-reservation Indians out of any federal aid. For years state officials have tried to terminate the Colville reservation in northeastern Washington.

At the center of the fight are some of Jackson's closest financial friends, the major lumber companies, who are determined to get at an extraordinarily valuable stand of timber now located on the reservation's property. Jackson, quick to jump to the side of his fund-raising friends, has hammered away at Colville. Annoyed at what he considered an unfortunate turn towards self-determination for Indians in the Kennedy New Frontier, Jackson was personally responsible for getting Philleo Nash, Kennedy's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, fired. Nash not only fought the Colville termination, but he raised Jackson's ire by opposing dams and development schemes on Indian lands.

While he has actively helped force the Colville Indians into a fight for their existence, Jackson's Interior Committee in the Senate (which subsumes the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs), has refused to recognize the issue of Indian fishing rights in Washington, abdicating its responsibility as the Indians' legal advocate on the excuse that the conflict is under state jurisdiction.

To critics who raise such ostensibly embarrassing issues, Jackson offers the standard mainline Democrat response: What this country needs is "responsible" leadership. Not one who wants to jail his subversive opponents—hence he is a libertarian—he aims to isolate them with his usual epithet, "those people," meaning anyone to the left of Hubert Humphrey. To those who have given up on party politics and even to the Kennedy/McCarthyites still within, his harangues about the "extremists" who opposed the SST or ABM may seem like so much ranting of a madman. But for a madman, Scoop Jackson has outweathered many a hard competitor in the party's back rooms.

UNLIKE SOME OF HIS MORE flamboyant right-wing echoes, Jackson has through the years built careful and often thoroughly loyal constituencies. More than any of the other Presidential contenders, he can rely on a variety of special interest lobbies each of which are independently indebted to him. (Already he has been introduced and given standing ovations at state labor conventions in Texas, New York, Connecticut, Colorado, Florida and Nebraska. And when Birch Bayh and Edmund Muskie showed up on their own at the annual meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, Scoop was sent a special invitation.) His quarter-century support for Israel, for example, illustrates how he perhaps has even outflanked Nixon in the Scammon-Wattenberg rules of voter-bloc manipulation. An early defender of Truman's program for Israeli nationhood, he has supported every arms and aid program to Israel that has come up since then, most lately arguing for millions in arms aid. His pleas for the cause of Israeli nationalism have in large part been perfunctory. He takes his stand foursquare on the Cold War. "Russia is behind a good 90 percent of the trouble we see going on there. . . ."

Furthermore Scoop Jackson's loyalty record to the party far outshines the rest of the Democrats who want to be President. Even after he was denied the Vice Presidency in 1960, he still stuck close to the old kingmakers, Sam Rayburn and Lyndon Johnson, who had groomed Scoop all along, providing him key committee assignments early in his Senate career and eventually offered him the party's national chairmanship in '61. Small wonder then that his first serious backing should come from a Texas meeting of top-level old liners who felt the party was slipping away from them into the hands of "radicals" like Fred Harris or George McGovern. A man like Scoop Jackson is a symbol of stability. As Joe Davis, the president of Washington's state labor council, put it, "Why, I guess Scoop's changed less in the last 20 years than any man I know."

What his nomination—either to the Presidency or the Vice Presidency—would do to the Democrats' so-called new wave remains highly conjectural. Back in his home state, a bitter struggle is under way by a coalition of old Gene McCarthy and Bobby Kennedy workers who have gained control of the King County (Seattle) organization, to deny Jackson enough convention delegates to embarrass him seriously in Miami. But if the party's left liberals are not able to head off Jackson and at least get McGovern into the second slot, then the way may be a fourth party. So far Jackson doesn't seem at all upset by such a prospect, for the real liberal heavies—Muskie and Kennedy—would certainly remain inside. Quite the contrary, the split would possibly offer the best opportunity of running out the peaceniks, and their platform (the only place they have any real negotiating power). Isolated, they could be picked off within a few years, a left-oriented counterweight to Wallace's American Independent Party. Loud-mouthed fringes on either side of him, Jackson would find himself in just the position he talks about most: a great responsible centrist who would carry forward the best traditions of domestic progressivism while at the same time forging a "strong America." ■

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 (Continued from page 47)

much for port facilities. And the Colonels' tariff policy bogs the company down in red tape. Miller concluded by making a scarcely concealed threat to pull out of the chemical business if the Colonels didn't shape up.

Maybe it was troubles of this kind that were on Tom Pappas' mind when he went drinking with a *New York Times* reporter and after perhaps too many glasses of *ouzo* began to pour out his bitter feelings against the Colonels. "He thought they were just a bunch of fools," recalled the journalist, "people who didn't keep their word; who didn't know how to deal with businessmen. 'They give concessions to guys like Onassis who've never put a nickel in this country, while I've spent millions,' " Pappas is supposed to have said.

The Greek government's announcement last November 6 that it was cancelling Onassis' $600 million refinery must have made Tom Pappas' day. For, if Onassis had gotten to build the third refinery (Esso-Pappas has one, Niarchos controls the other), it would have had a bad effect on domestic oil refining prices. Like Pappas and Niarchos the goal of Onassis' planned investment in Greece was the fullest employment of his tankers, with the maximum amount of capital to be raised by foreign companies. This is why Onassis attempted to tie his refinery to an aluminum plant. What did Onassis want to do with aluminum? Well, not much, it was Alcoa, or Reynolds that he hoped would take over production and marketing and provide the basic capital investment. Onassis' angle was this: Greece had enormous bauxite reserves, but no big rivers and no source of hydroelectric power to smelt the bauxite into aluminum. Greece needed an external source of power, and that was oil. Onassis would import the oil on his tankers. Keeping his tankers in commission is a problem that pre-occupies Onassis especially since over-capacity is developing in the world tanker market.

Apparently, Onassis was unable to find any backers within the aluminum industry, and this helped finish him as far as the oil project is concerned. There was always considerable skepticism concerning the $600 million deal on the part of those who could never believe Onassis would invest any of his own money in Greece. Even when his bank, First National City, posted a $7 million performance guarantee, there were those who saw this as just another bluff. Without the backing of American corporations, oil companies, banks, Ari becomes just Jackie's old man.

[CONCLUSION]

IN GREECE TODAY, WE OBSERVE A KIND of symmetry that is truly marvelous to behold. In the political sphere, three or four Colonels hold forth as absolute dictators; and in the economic sphere, the number of men who count is probably about the same: Pappas, perhaps Onassis, certainly Niarchos. This is as it should be since economic monopoly inexorably calls forth sooner or later its political equivalent, i.e., fascism. It's very tempting to ascribe to the famous actors all the roles that they assign to themselves. The media reinforce this apparent reality quite vividly. But, if the action is observed very closely, what we really have in Greece is a play within a play, with the main show and the chief actors playing out their part off stage—in the offices of Jersey Standard, at the headquarters of the First National City Bank, in the White House and the CIA. Onassis and Niarchos, after all, are essentially creatures of the international oil companies. If the big oil companies thought there was as much money in transporting oil as in refining and marketing it, they would expand their tanker fleets and drive Onassis and Niarchos from the oceans. Meanwhile, the conspicuous consumption of these millionaire foreigners serves a certain diversionary purpose as well as their economic function. As for Pappas, he has "Esso" practically stamped on his hindquarters. While the press lambasts his ties to Agnew, and Congress launches its planned investigation into his activities. Esso executives remain *au dessous la mêlée*. As far as the Colonels are concerned, they are the kind of men whose self-preservation depends on such factors as whether or not Spiro can be sprung from rhino-watching to pay them a visit. In a word, they are the last and worst option of America's national security managers.

In last October's Congressional debate over US aid to Greece, much of this was left unsaid. The entire argument between liberals and conservatives revolved around the question of which Greeks could best serve US foreign policy ends; the democrats or the dictators. Senate liberals pointed out, quite correctly, that it was the Greek democrats who gave us the NATO bases in the first place, and that the dictators were unreliable. "Yes," the conservatives replied, echoing Tom Pappas, "but democracy had gotten out of hand." The conservatives were right. It *had* gotten out of hand, democracy had. And it always will.

Before the entire aid program went down to defeat, probably to be resurrected along more functional lines, the aid to the Greek dictators' section of the bill passed overwhelmingly. I asked Andreas Papandreou what he thought the two votes meant. He handed me a statement he'd written the night before. "It's a pretty tough message," he said. It read in part:

Now, that all branches of the government of the USA have openly declared their support for the oppressive and brutal military regime in Athens, the stage has been set for the rape of Cyprus. It is obvious that the Greek Junta . . . will try to deliver Cyprus to NATO and place that nation under bondage. Only the steadfast determination of the Greek Cypriots and their willingness to fight for their national independence, may deter the American aggressors and their agents.

On October 28th, 1940, the Greek people said 'No' to the fascist invaders. Now, 31 years later they say 'No' to the American oppressors.

The only course open to the Greek people—who will never accept slavery as a way of life—is resistance through all possible means against their oppressor in the context of an unyielding national liberation struggle.

I put the press release down and looked at Andreas. "I know it's hard on some of our friends," he said, "Hartke, especially. He's been with us. So have Fulbright and Pell and the others. But this was for the Greek people, and it's their struggle."

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Tom Wolfe: Reactionary Chic

"From that moment, man, there's no question: this is a real *writer*. . . . For decades now the English Lit. establishment has been extolling the virtues of Vivid Writing. Show, don't *tell*. Use the *active* voice, not *passive*. Be *lively*. Deny it if you want to! Tom Wolfe is exemplary, and we asked for it."

AT ABOUT 2 OR 3 OR 4 AM, somewhere along in there, on March 2, 1970, his 39th birthday or so, Tom Wolfe had a vision. He saw himself in a dim hall, so large and dim that he couldn't see the walls or ceiling—why he could be outside for all he knew! but he knew he wasn't. He was dressed . . . of course! in his lambent floppy-white suit, his patented Tom Wolfe vanilla icecream suit, his Tom Wolfe magic blanched-out glow-coat, glowing in the dim hall like a rotting mackerel, like a luminous alarm-clock dial in a bedroom at 3 or 4 in the morning. He was seated at a table, and in front of him was . . . yes! his alumicron-sided, electromesh triple-spring action Fethertuch control . . . no ordinary everyday *typewriter*, dig, but the real baby itself, the real little Wurlitzer-Corona wonder, humming and clunking and *shtunk*ing *and ding*-ing away . . . I mean, *his* typewriter! Does one comprehend? And all around the edges of this . . . typewriter . . . ran these crazy bands of glowing pearly-white neon, just pulsing and glowing and flowing around and around like mercury through one of those weird quadruple-noded clear-plastic Magick-straws that Scarsdale mothers buy for their children to suck their Ovaltine through . . . and out the back of the . . . typewriter . . . stretching away straight in front of him, ran this, just, *mile*-long shimmering bright-white *end*less lumescent fluorescent *extension* cord stretching like a white-hot wire till it just disappeared in the shadows, literally getting swallowed up by infinity. Plugged into infinity! Bright white lite typewriter Wolfe suit Wurlitzer-Corona floppy long blanche-blonde Day-Glo hair, all sheeny-shiny glowing white-bright shiny shoes cord infinity all luminous-noumenous pale-pure blank-light-*white! Tom Wolfe!* And it came to him, all at once: *He was the light source!* Except for him, and his icecream suit, and his luminous-noumenous Wurlitzer-Corona, all else was like wrapped and lapped in the shades of darkness, eyeless in Gaza, no-sun nothingness . . . I mean, *dark*, savvy? Except for him.

Well, right. I mean if you're Tom Wolfe, and you're a writer, not just any two-room walk-up scrounging moonlighting highschool English teacher reviewing friends' books for $25 a throw in the Sunday newspaper Woman's Page plus Arts and Entertainment Section, with a "novel" in "progress" in a shoe-box full of transcriptions of pretentious interior-exterior monologues and loopy marijuana musings and descriptive passages of wheels passing over the rain-wet streets with the sound of tearing silk, but if you're a writer named *Tom Wolfe*, that is to say a real *cachet* writer, puffed by *Esquire*, caricatured by David Levine, attacked by Dwight MacDonald—so that when people say *the* Tom Wolfe they just might mean you and not that other T.W. (1900–1938), one of the great American writers of all time, why then, well, I just have no idea of how to finish this wonderful Tom Wolfe sentence I've been writing.

I WONDER HOW WOLFE WOULD finish it. He has trouble finishing sentences sometimes, Tom Wolfe does. Not that it's his fault, really. English is just *so* chock-full of *such* wonderful rhetorical constructs that let you puff up and up *so* far and then suddenly leave you hanging with no place to go that . . . that . . . well, you see what I mean? And if you're a writer like Wolfe, whose whole work is really in the realm of hyperbole, then you must spend about half your time at the typewriter trying to think up some new tag-end for one of those big blowsy top-heavy rococo sentences that won't sound like too obvious a variant on ". . . . that I ever saw." Diagram a Wolfe sentence the way you used to do on the blackboard in Grammar class, on the "subject" side you'll get a weird

Photograph of Tom Wolfe by Rollie McKenna

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jungle of sproutings and joinings and modified modifiers linking together in thrice removed subordinate clauses, but on the "predicate" side—nothing. A lame state-of-being verb and some nebbishy tail-off. ". . . that I ever saw in my life."

Admirers like to credit Wolfe with being prophetically non-linear, post-Gutenberg and all that, and of course he has trouble with the dumb warmed-over Ciceronian syntactic forms we're taught to accept as discourse, with their weird 18th century assumptions about little ideas building logically into bigger ideas. Here goes the opening sentence from an article in Wolfe's first book:

Bangs manes bouffants beehives Beatle caps butter faces brush-on lashes decal eyes puffy sweaters French thrust bras flailing leather blue jeans stretch pants stretch jeans honeydew bottoms . . .

This is pretty pure Wolfe, very thin on the old linear cement—all those hoary connectives and transitions and splicings from the end of one paragraph or chapter to the start of the next and all that "In view of the above observations we may safely conclude that" fudge—but very strong on images, flashes, quick cuts of reality. No doubt about it: he has a good ear and a very good eye, in fact his whole neuro-sensory apparatus is like one of those *very* impressive synesthetic metaphor-mongering *Des Esseintes* palettes that Thurber captures perfectly in his cartoon of the wine snob holding up a glass and saying, "It's a mere domestic burgundy of no birth or breeding, but I think you'll be amused by its presumption." Why, even *Radical Chic,* even Wolfe's latest, greatest, super-sock 'em put-the-mothers-in-their-place put-down, starts out with the most febrile, delicate little palette-tingling passage:

Little Roquefort cheese morsels rolled in crushed nuts . . . . It's the way the dry sackiness of the nuts tiptoes up against the dour savor of the cheese that is so nice, so subtle.

And from that moment, man, there's no question: this is a real *writer* we've got here. Deny it if you want to! For decades now the English Lit. establishment, from Freshman Comp. on up, partly as a reaction against the bureaucratic Newspeak that George Orwell was anatomizing in the '40s, has been extolling the virtues of Vivid Writing. *Show,* don't *tell.* Use the *active* voice, not *passive.* Be *lively.* The whole push has been towards the immediate, the vividly visualized, the sharp one-stroke knife-twist of wit, the striking *mot juste,* the well-turned one-liner. And away from: the ruminative, the understated, the patient building-up into some kind of meaningful synthesis that says more than the sum of its parts. Deny it if you want to! Tom Wolfe is exemplary, and we asked for it. Just the last word in *liveliness,* a master of the witty *mot juste* (e.g., the use of the words "sackiness" and "dour" in the passage just quoted) and with it the kind of corruscating *shock* of recognit on metaphor-mongering which really amounts to a facility at overlaying disparate frames of reference and which, for the last ten years or so, has become increasingly the signature of fashionable conversational wit, as well as of the strings of prickly haiku that pass for classy prose.

AROUND THE TURN OF THE century many leaders of the literary avant-garde were taken up with rendering in words those instants of intense intuitive apprehension of reality which constituted, for them, the quintessential artistic moment. Joyce's "epiphany" is maybe the best-known term for a conviction which was very deep and general, with many schools and offshoots. One group, Ezra Pound's Imagists, sought to capture moments of shared experience, to bracket them in a quasi-phenomenological sense, for reader and writer alike, with the juxtaposition of sparse, concrete images.

Now, it seems to me that by some long and devious route a promiscuous version of this particular literary philosophy has become the stock-in-trade of modern pop-writers. It may have to do with the influence of John Updike, whose early stuff is pretty much a continuous Imagist prose-poem (that business about the dry sackiness of the crushed nuts tiptoing up and so forth could have been straight from *Rabbit, Run*). More important have been the soft drugs of the '60s with their property of breaking down mental membranes, turning reality into a Sargasso Sea of easy metaphor, of a moiling, tumbling, going-through-changes yeastiness where everything inheres in everything else. Anyway, never has "creative" writing been so easy. Its staple is a certain species of distilled, witty metaphor that I'll call the mini-epiphany. The mini-epiphany is everywhere; a certain facility with it is responsible, for instance, for the raves by most slick-magazines for the otherwise pretty vapid pop writer Albert Goldman. Goldman can't do much else, but he can knock off the drug-drenched mini-epiphany like nobody's business:

Some of his [Jimi Hendrix's] pieces remind you of totems of scabrous rusty iron; some move like farm machines run amok; some suggest shiny brass columns and spheres breached to reveal an interior textured like a toadstool.

Now, the mini-epiphany is like any other literary device—useful in moderation, treacherous when leaned on too heavily. Tom Wolfe uses it about twelve times too much—I mean, he's *addicted* to it. And the reason, I think, has to do with the whole psychological gestalt of the mini-epiphany—what it conveys, what it suggests—and its meshing with Tom Wolfe's rather impoverished notion of his craft. The real function of the mini-epiphany is to resurrect, from the wide field of metaphor, some facet of a particular experience which, though part of everyone's common unvoiced memory of that experience, has no place in the received, conventional verbal corona of associations it carries with it. Like a musical note, which conventionally we can define only as high or low, quarter-note or grace note, but which simultaneously suggests all kind of unverbalized things . . . it can be green, or hot, or silky-soft, or like cold Wheatena on a frosty morning . . . almost any conceivable synesthetic analogue or plug-in from some *recherche* frame of reference will strike *some* chord, will make us sit up and say, "Hey! That's right!" and marvel at the author who managed to fish out just *that* little tidbit from our semiconscious that somehow no-one else had ever found. So the mini-epiphany becomes the signature of originality, of someone who

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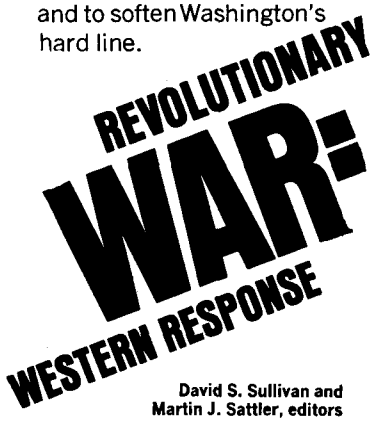
What should the U.S. do about Third-World revolutions?

Revolutionary war is an increasingly significant phenomenon in the Third World, and there is some evidence that conventional, counter-revolutionary intervention is built into the American political system. A new book by five internationally recognized authorities on revolution (one of them, in fact, under indictment in an alleged plot to kidnap Henry Kissinger) examines this ominous problem.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR: WESTERN RESPONSE analyzes the revolutionary political climate of the third world and the entrenched official attitudes of Washington that make more Vietnams likely. It then suggests what can be done both to alleviate the root causes of revolution and to soften Washington's hard line.



David S. Sullivan and Martin J. Sattler, editors

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can break through the verbal deadwood and rediscover reality's raw nub. Describe a note as "C sharp" and you're a drudge. Describe it as "blue" and you're a poet. If you're Albert Goldman and fond of dropping blockbuster mini-epiphanies like "the bend in a blue note" why, man, you're a genius, man.

The main dividend of the mini-epiphany is this illusion of real, intimate contact with the surfaces and textures of reality, unrutted by verbal trudgery or bullshit in general. Romantic revivals always have people scrambling around trying to rend the veil, to break through this or that and get right into the real down-to-down pith of things, and the mini-epiphany is the perfect ticket for a writer to catch a ride on the latest New Romanticism. Tom Wolfe's versatility with it is the reason *Newsweek*, for instance, waxed ecstatic about *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test:*

> *Among journalists, Wolfe is a genuine poet; what makes him so good is his ability to get inside . . . to get under the skin of a phenomenon and transmit its metabolic rhythm.*

To which: Bullshit. What Wolfe is good at is conveying the *illusion* of being inside and under the skin and metabolically rhythmic. Whether writing about something with which he has virtually no contact and so has to make up the details—as in his notorious *New Yorker* pieces—or something which he has personally experienced—as in *Radical Chic*—his technique is identical: the incessant mini-epiphany larded with a barrage of name-dropping and needlepoint peripheral detail (the kind people in creative writing classes are taught to stick in to give their scenes and characters "life") all overarched by the hypertrophied irony that people mistake for objectivity.

That illusion of objectivity is very important. Wolfe's stance is necessarily that of the rarified, omniscient observer, bathing all figures in luminous lucidity, grinding no axes or, at most, grinding them all to the exact same edge. He has to take his stance because his whole gift is in the painting of word pictures, in the framing and sketching and fleshing-out of credible frauds and facsimiles, of fiction truer than fact. His talent as any kind of handler of ideas, picking up an idea and moving it from point *a* to point *b*, is close to zero. The section in the middle of *Radical Chic* where he drops out of the Bernstein's party for a minute to go into a pop sociology riff on Radical Chic Through the Ages is pretty thin —the kind of thing a sympathetic professor might give a C+ to with a comment like "A promising idea here, Tom, but needs more thought." And it becomes thinner when you realize that the subject of that section is the exact same old dead horse that Wolfe has been whacking away at ever since he appeared in print. Viz: *Nostalgie de la boue.* Dr. Johnson once remarked about a young man that he'd had "only one idea in his life, and that was a wrong one." Wolfe's one idea is *nostalgie de la boue,* a phenomenon which was old hat in the days when Marie Antoinette and her retinue liked to dress up as milkmaids.

"NOSTALGIA FOR THE MUD" is the snotty French term used to account for the fact that the aping of upper-class life-styles by people in the lower levels of the social scale is often reciprocated by their opposites in the upper levels. Of course this is easy enough to understand—any extreme is a kind of imprisonment, generating an idea of freedom which amounts to a yearning for its own opposite. The paradoxes are familiar enough, surely, as well as the infinite number of humiliations and put-downs they have occasioned. When Jack Kerouac got a little over-effusive about how great it must feel to be a Negro walking barefoot along a dusty road, James Baldwin quietly suggested that he try reading that aloud from the stage of the Apollo Theatre some Saturday night. Generations of satirists have gotten their jollies out of the petty-bourgeois and their pretensions to gentility. And of course ole Rastus is always getting ludicrously above himself in the coon-show humor that lasted into the '50's; remember the Lodge of the Mystic Knights of the Sea in *Amos 'n Andy?* Radical Chic *in verso.* Wolfe's whole point about those little Roquefort cheese morsels is to wonder out loud if the Panthers really . . . *like* . . . them, if they, as it were,

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know what . . . to . . . *do* with them. Surely by now we can call this what it is—a cheap shot.

And it isn't the last one. When, by Wolfe's elemental Radical Chic formula, innocence itself is the ultimate affectation, then every gesture or act, every choice, becomes a transparent calculation, and all lambent, luminous, lucid white-on-white Wolfe is doing, see, is illuminating it for us. The Bernstein's guests can have their address at Sutton Place, or Queens, or Harlem, or any place in between—it doesn't matter, all is vanity, all the result of the agonized calculus of *x* amount of guilt versus *y* amount of greed. . . . And clothes: they are never just *clothes,* they always have to be *statements,* manifestos in fact: Raging Funk, Seedy-Tweedy . . . Wolfe cares more about clothes than anyone except the woman's fashion page writers whose style he emulates. (He is well-sconced in *New York Magazine's* coven of high-gloss New York bitchiness.) Felicia Bernstein, for instance, tries to stay out of the whole scene—but of course that just shows how . . .*adept* she is at it:

> *Felicia Bernstein seems to understand the whole thing better. Look at Felicia. She is wearing the simplest little black frock imaginable, with absolutely no ornamentation save for a plain gold necklace. It is perfect.*

Felicia dear what a *perfect* little dress how *cunning* of you to think of it you must have spent *hours.* . . .

Nor is Wolfe's cattiness as all-embracing as he affects. Personal friends of his who were at the Bernsteins' (like Gloria Steinem) go largely unscored, while old enemies are dragged in incongruously from the wings to be *nostalgie de la boue*-ed. Like *The New York Review of Books,* the magazine that a few years before had published one of the really devastating articles of the decade, Dwight MacDonald's review of Wolfe's *New Yorker* pieces, revealing that, throughout, Wolfe had just lied, and lied, and lied, and gotten away with it—which is his real talent, you see. Hokay, *New York Review,* here's to you, buddy:

> *In fact, the journal was sometimes referred to good-naturedly as* The Parlour Panther, *with the* -our *spelling of* Parlour *being an allusion to its concurrent motif of anglophilia.*

Now obviously folks: Try to imagine some New York culturati on the phone to another New York culturati saying: "In the latest *Parlour Panther,* which, you know, is what we're all calling the *New York Review of Books* these days. . . ." Obviously no self-respecting New York culturati was walking around saying *"The Parlour Panther* I mean *New York Review,"* like awful old George Jessel on television pretending to get the *New York Times* mixed up with *Pravda.* And that's not even considering the problem of how do you convey that clever *-our* anglophilia bit when you're talking, not writing an essay like Wolfe is. Obviously, now, Wolfe cooked the whole business up out of his own sweet bean. Most writers, wanting to insert this little snookum, would have done something like: *"The New York Review,* or, as I oft have thought it should be properly designated, *The Parlour Panther.* . . ." But Wolfe is a reporter, see, and reporters can't do that kind of thing. . . .

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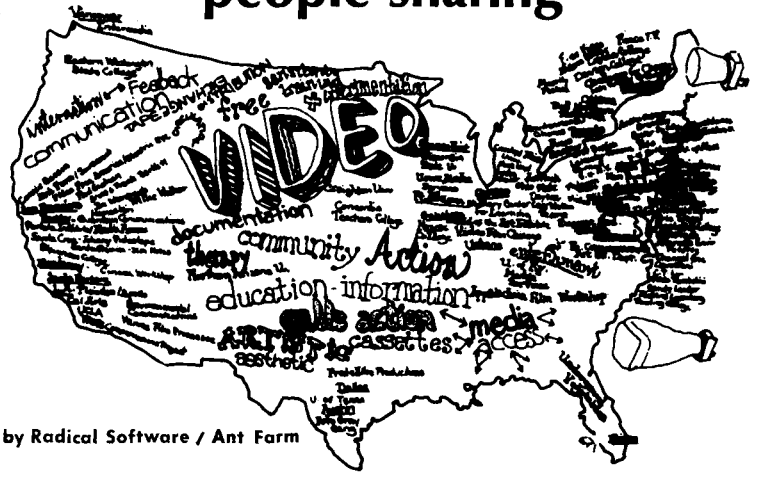

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Sure. *Radical Chic* is a piece of reporting the way that *Gulliver's Travels* is a travelogue. Like most novels, it is based on fact; like many novels, it is written through a *persona*. Mark Twain finds it useful for his purposes to pretend that he's a kid on a raft; Tom Wolfe finds it useful for his purposes to pretend he's a reporter, a smooth-polished reflector of things as they are. His *persona* is that of the keenly perceptive observer who is further gifted with the poet's knack of getting under the skin of things, just like *Newsweek* says he does. The fact is that he is essentially a fictionalist with a not very imaginative world-view onto which he grafts the effluvia of whatever event he is "analyzing"—as evidenced by the simple fact that for six years he has been seeing the same thing everywhere —from Baby Jane Holzer in 1964 with her "pet primitives," the Rolling Stones, to Leonard Bernstein in 1970 and his "pet primitives," the Panthers (the repetition is Wolfe's; he has a tendency to plagiarize himself).

As a footnote in the history of fiction, Wolfe is interesting mainly as a kind of full-circle return to Defoe, for whom "fiction" and "fraud" were the same. In some of his techniques, such as the reportorial stance and pointillist accretion of detail, he closely resembles Defoe; in addition he has the advantage of the mini-epiphany, which performs a number of useful functions: 1) It induces a kind of awed acquiescence, so that the question of credibility or accuracy seems almost an afterthought: This guy knows what he's writing about—why, can't you just *taste* those cheese-balls? 2) It charges phrase and line with such frantic energy that we're really numbed to considerations of contour or argument —a good thing for Wolfe. There's so much *movement* that we haven't got time to notice the lack of direction, and any kind of, well, *thought* is likely to seem a bonus . . . Wow! All this and *ideas* too! 3) The line of continuous mini-epiphanies, with its sense of endlessly digging, opening-up, turning over, getting-to-the-core-of, perfectly matches the relentless reductivism of Wolfe's own blanched-out nihilism. Other satirists have been bombshells; Wolfe is just a string of firecrackers; he sees life as a series of silly pretenses and tiny embarrassments against the backdrop of dat ole bottomless void.

HAS ANYONE REMARKED THAT the most flaming case of *nostalgie de la boue* in town is Tom Wolfe himself? But what else can you be when your writing won't *go* anywhere, when all you can do is just sit there and run the old ray-gun, melting down all comers to the same identical plastic nub? The introduction to his first book tries to strike a sort of Lincolnesque attitude about how he's just revealing to us the hitherto ignored wonders of American subculture, of what he elsewhere calls *esthetique du shlock*—but what follows doesn't . . . follow that. What follows reveals a real socked-in, root-canal disgust:

> *. . . Las Vegas is a resort for old people. In those last years, before the tissue deteriorates and the wires of the cerebral cortex hang in the skull like a clump of dried seaweed, they are seeking liberation.*

Which lovely image is one of the dominant motifs of Wolfe's work—he even slides it into *Radical Chic*.

Yup, this is the real thing, mud love all right; no wonder he sees it everywhere. And just how is anything supposed to look good through all that vinyl-shiny prose, amidst that hairiness of weary High Camp so-bad-it's-good paradoxes that frayed down from the early '60s? And that famous *detail*—how can anything not mean whatever Wolfe wants it to mean when to read him is to accept a world where just *every*thing signifies *some*thing. For that is Wolfe's world—a hyper-hyped derivation from all those bad post-Joyce short story writers fanatically sifting their narrative sands for significance, writing things like.

> *Madeline caught herself short and swallowed hard. Unstrung by the ensuing silence, she mechanically smoothed out her plaid skirt with fluting fingers, then dug down, with quiet mania, for the last cigarette wedged in the corner of her crushed pack, like a blind kitten burrowing into its mother's belly. Fowler watched her, running one hand through the wisps on his pulsing temples, with the other palping the mottled concavities of the tortoise-shell ash-tray. The lenses of his glasses reflected blank disks. "Oh," he said.*

Everything means something! The *raison d'etre* of the mini-epiphany. But some things mean more than other things, and most things mean different things from other things . . . does anyone really believe, for instance, that Leonard Bernstein spends his life running around that razor-edged squirrel cage of *Radical Chic*, shifting here and shunting there, feeling his way over the blades, every move maniacally calculated not to offend or gaffe? Are these people really so different from you and me? Even in New York, is content really so subsumed in form, *life* so collapsed into life-*style*? For one man, yes. One man has spent his career in print running his subjects around that little cage, plotting every fidget along the if-not-*x*-then-*y* coordinates of his Radical Chic *Nostalgie de la boue* graph, in a style that bleeds crimson plastic from every crack. Like all of his books, *Radical Chic* is mainly about Tom Wolfe.

—JOHN GORDON

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Announcing the release of Ben Sidran's first album which marks the publication of his first book.

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Sports

As any American male who has participated in sports knows, athletic competition is our culture's masculinity rite. It is on the playing fields of America, so the unspoken theory goes, where boys are made into men. Last year it was brought home to me how this phenomenon even pervades the counterculture when, on a visit to the Fillmore East, I saw the long-haired, macho-tripping male ushers decked out in football jerseys. Apparently considering themselves too hip for regular cop uniforms, they chose the next best thing.

Unlike most primitive rituals where, after certain specific acts, a boy becomes a man forever after, athletic competition in this country requires males continually to prove their masculinity. Not surprisingly, most coaches quickly learn that the chief reward they can dispense is manhood.

The most complimentary remark a coach can make about a male athlete is to call him a "real stud" or "animal," and the most derogatory thing he can do is to intimate the athlete may be effeminate. It is for this reason that coaches themselves are so obsessed with being "real" men—straight from the square-jawed, John Wayne mold.

No coach was better at this form of athlete manipulation than the late Vince Lombardi. Himself the perfect "he-man" stereotype, Lombardi had the players on the Green Bay Packers convinced that to lose a football game was to lose their manhood. Willie Davis, a perennial All-Pro defensive end during his playing days and captain of Lombardi's world championship Green Bay teams, is an example of just how effective Lombardi was at keeping his players on the edge of doubt about their identity. Although the average football fan who watched the huge Davis terrorize NFL quarterbacks may find it difficult to believe, Davis' feelings about himself were in constant jeopardy. In an interview conducted by his former teammate Jerry Kramer, for *Lombardi: Winning is the Only Thing,* Davis talked of the motivation that led him and his teammates to one NFL championship: "We went out and we whipped them good and preserved our manhood." And since on any given football weekend approximately half of the players are going to have been the victims of defeat, they feel compelled to look for other ways to prove their masculinity. This has given rise to the all too frequent spectacle of football players—those athletes already engaged in the most macho of all popular American sports—cruising the streets in search of homosexuals or hippies to beat up.

Ignoring the obvious dangers involved in making manhood or maturity synonymous with violent, aggressive behavior, making athletics a masculinity rite also works to attenuate, if not totally negate, the intrinsic value of participation. As Timothy Leary so brilliantly pointed out during a philosophical discussion of handball in *Jail Notes,* "It's the play off not the pay off" which is the real value of athletics. But when males are participating in sports as a masculinity rite, or for any extrinsic purpose, they are usually so tense and anxious that athletic participation eventually comes to be seen primarily for its utilitarian rather than its inherent value.

One need only look at the physical condition of typical high school, college, or professional athletes within a year or two after they are through competing to see how little they enjoy physical activity for its own sake. And even those few former athletes who do keep physically active are usually doing so for some health-related reason rather than running for the simple joy to be gained from an exhilarating but exhausting run.

Given the reality of athletic participation being a proving ground, one can only wonder what happens to those females in our society who decide to participate seriously in competitive athletics. Next time I'll discuss why there is probably no area of American life where women's oppression is greater than it is in sports. As Marie Hart, a woman physical educator, recently told me, "Our society cuts the penis off the male who decides to be a dancer and puts it on the female who participates in competitive athletics."

—Jack Scott

Records

CAT MOTHER

LOST IN THE OZONE, *Commander Cody & His Lost Planet* [*Paramount*]
CAT MOTHER [*Polydor*]

New albums by two of the "next generation" bands continue to show the direction of pop-rock music, and, happily, there remains a course of positive vitality, avoiding the divergent pitfalls of nihilism (Grand Funk, Black Sabbath), bucolic retreat (many of the country and folk artists), and juvenile vapidity (Jackson Five, Osmonds).

Cat Mother is the third and best album to date by Cat Mother and the All-Night Newsboys, a group whose history both personally and musically reflects much of the turmoil of the past few years.

Starting on the East Village-Woodstock circuit in New York, the band was "discovered" by Jimi Hendrix and invited to tour with him. Their music was solid and creative. They were one of the first bands to merge such instruments as organ and electric violin with the standard guitar-bass-drum configuration of most leading groups..

They played the concert-and-festival circuit, brought out an excellent album of mostly hard rock (*The Street Giveth and the Street Taketh Away*), and involved themselves in movement activities. They played at anti-war benefits, for example, and expressed the revulsion we all felt at the Chicago Democratic convention in their song

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"How I Spent My Summer."

Early in 1970 they moved west, settling in Mendocino County, and turned out *Albion Doo-Wah*, one of the pleasantest country-flavored albums to appear in that period of C/W influence.

About that time they became the victims of one of the classic businessman/artist ripoffs in history. This isn't the place for details, but the result was a dearth of significant bookings and a year-and-a-half layoff as far as recording was concerned. The band supported itself by putting on dances in Mendocino and playing club dates in northern California and Oregon—at times literally going hungry, yet never too hungry to play a benefit or put on a free party for the community.

Now they've largely cleared their management problem, and the first fruits borne are the nine tracks on *Cat Mother*.

The album reflects the new eclecticism emerging in pop music, and incidentally reflects much of the career of the band. "Different World," for instance, carries back to the Village era, describing an encounter with a '60s-type groupie: "Now you say you're all alone and looking for a place to crash/ Well you can spend some time with me and we'll check out my stash."

Movement politics is still present in "Letter to the President," the love of the wild country is in "Greenwood Shuffle" and "Ode to Oregon," and there are two fine instrumentals, "Heebee Jeebies" and a perfect, traditional blues guitar piece by Charlie Pritchard.

But the heart of the album is in three songs that deal with the themes of real life: hard work, suffering, love. "Three and Me," "Trials and Tribulations," "Love Until Your Heart Breaks."

"Three and Me" is one of those marvelously simple songs that communicate a feeling more effectively than the most heavily "produced" track: the composer sings to his little daughter and to his pregnant wife, about their future. And the others—well, it's been a hard, cold, hungry year and a half in Mendocino. And yet it leads not to despair and defeat, but to renewed effort and affirmation.

Cat Mother tells us where we've been, helps us to understand where we are now, and offers a sign of where we're going.

COMMANDER CODY AND HIS LOST Planet Airmen debut in *Lost in the Ozone*, an album long awaited by thousands who have heard them play in their current and former home states, California and Michigan. They belie their spacey name by playing music in the Nashville tradition, with strong influences of southern white blues, truck-drivin' and saloon-crawlin' songs, and Texas swing in the 1940s style of Bob Mills.

What is so strange about the band is that they are not from the homogeneous background that would seem implicit in that description. On the contrary, Cody himself, a fine boogie-woogie pianist, is a former Jones Beach lifeguard with a master's degree in fine arts; Andy Stein, fiddle player, is a former symphony violinist; John Tichy, guitar and vocals, holds a doctorate in hydraulic engineering . . . and so on.

Their music is overtly non-political and yet the band has been involved in movement activities from its beginnings in Ann Arbor. There are no message songs in the sense of some of Cat Mother's, yet Cody is highly political in the sense of being a people's band,

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of raising consciousness. They frequently perform free at movement benefits (while fighting eviction notices at home), yet Cody said in a recent interview, "If we have a purpose, it's to get people off their ass."

Not an elegant statement, but an eloquent one in its way.

The music on the album is evenly divided between original compositions and standard Nashville tunes that alternate between the soppily sentimental ("Family Bible," "Home in My Hand") and the roughneck ("Midnight Shift," "Hot Rod Lincoln"). Overall, the originals stand above the classics: "Lost in the Ozone," "Wine Do Yer Stuff," and "Seeds and Stems" are especially fine, with classy interplay among lead guitar, pedal steel, fiddle and vocals.

But there are perils in performing this sort of traditional, square, white-christian-wine-drinkin' material, even with your tongue in your cheek—which is where Commander Cody's is firmly planted, whether he says so or not, and even as his band renders the songs in pristine form. You can hear an example if you listen carefully to the last track on the album, a track lifted from a tape of a concert in Ann Arbor in April 1971. Yep, those shrill voices you can hear in the breaks are indeed women screaming "Sexist pigs," all the while Commander Cody is pounding out a spirited version of "Beat Me Daddy Eight to the Bar."

What happened was . . . ah, well, the Lost Planet Airmen had been doing some truck driver songs while a light show, without their approval or even their knowledge, switched to a film of a long-distance driver, lonely and bored, fantasizing a naked woman in the cab with him.

Is this sexism? "Using women's bodies. . . ." But we're also told that the human form is beautiful. . . . Point for a rousing debate, but members of the audience in Ann Arbor, "national center of radical lesbianism," preferred direct action to debate, charged the stage, and made a tiny piece of history.

After it was over, the manager of the Airmen, Joe Kerr, said "They may have had a legitimate gripe, but acting like that—if we don't know who our friends are and who our enemies are, we don't have a chance!"

—DICK LUPOFF

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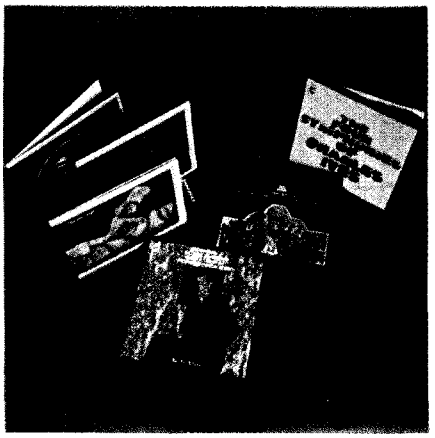

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